ARCHÆOLOGIÆ

ATTICÆ

LIBRI SEPTEM.

SEVEN BOOKES OF THE ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The deſcription of the Citties glory, government, diviſion of the People, and Townes within the *Athenian* Territories, their Religion, Superſtition, Sacrifices, Account of their Yeare, a full relation of their Judicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholler of *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon*.

With an Addition of their Cuſtomes in Marriages, Burials, Feaſtings, Divinations, &c. in the foure laſt Books. By *ZACHARY BOGAN*,
Scholar of *C. C. C.* in *Oxon*.

The Fifth Edition Corrected and Enlarged, with a twofold Index, *Rerum* & *Vocabulorum*.

Ariſtid. Περιττὰ πληροῦν τὰς ἀκοάς, ἀπηχθόμεθα, μεῖζον ἔχοντες
ἔργον δ᾽ ὅ τι φυλαξόμεθα ὃ ἔτι χρησόμεθα, εὑρεῖν.

OXFORD,
Printed by *A. Lichfield*, and *H. Hall*, for *John Adams*, and *Edw. Forreſt*. 1658.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
S^r Nathaniel Brent Knight,
Vicar Generall, and the most vigilant
Warden *of* Merton Colledge
in Oxford, *Health*,
&c.

IT is the cuſtome of moſt, to impoſe a patronage of their errours upon ſome eminent perſon. But it ſhall be my ambition in this my Dedication to manifeſt my obſervancie. Others make their choice of potent men, thereby to ſhun the darts of envy: it ſhall be my glory to be thought worthy of invidency, whoſe ignorance is not ſo great but well knowes that ever ſome will bite in ſecret, & ſcourge theſe errours of my youth with private reproaches. But ſuch malignant tongues I will counterpoiſe with the windes, and ſet as lightly by as they are vaine. And although I am confidently perſwaded that the covert of your wings bee ſufficiently able to ſhelter my faults; yet had I rather to expreſſe my duty towards you in theſe naked infirmities, whoſe goodneſſe truly knowes how * to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I preſent you therefore with *Athens*, whoſe deplorable raggedneſſe my papers well reſemble: which may challenge this excuſe, that they aſſimulate themſelves to the Treatiſe in them contained. Which of all men, I my ſelfe am conſcious moſt unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurſe of reaſon, * which floriſhed in eloquence, & brave achievements more then all *Greece*, could not, unleſſe in her miſerable ruines, have without her diſgrace been ſpoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church ſuckt rare literature, *Baſil* his

eloquence

* *Auſis* literarum ignoſcere Vegetius in Prolog,

* Cic Epiſt.

* Patercul. in fine Lib.1.

[illegible], *Nazianzen* his ſtrength, & others their flowing Oratory. That *Athens* which who had not ſeene is by * *Lyſippus* accounted a blocke. Accept, *Honoured* Sir, theſe Reliques of that famous Univerſity, though by me offered], as Devotion paid to *Antiquity*, by you well eſteemed of, though among moſt of theſe our dayes accounted dirt; whoſe labour it is to ſeek new faſhions, and like nought, but what may be accounted novelty. Reſembling the brute, of which *Cicero. Ad id ſolum quod adeſt, quódq; preſens eſt ſe accommodat, paulum admodum ſentiens præteritum,&c.* never caring for what is paſt. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with thoſe Champions of Learning, hundreds of yeares ſince gathered to their former duſt. By whoſe penſils we ſee drawne the lively images of deceaſed Monarchs, the forms of government, & very lives of ſtates. Out of which patternes, if you pleaſe to deeme the leaſt part of this to have beene taken, it ſhall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not ſeem a ſpurious and de-

generate

* Apud. Dicæarchum Εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, στέλεχος εἶ.

generative offspring. Upon preſumption of which I feare not, as the Eagles do their young to expoſe my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wiſhes for addition to your happineſſe, I take leave, From my Study in *Merton College* Jun. 9. 1637.

Your VVorſhips in all humility
to be commanded
F. Rous.

TO

To the Reader.

IT is not a thirſt of empty glory that makes me run hazard of your cenſure, but a conſideration of the weakneſſe of School-Maſters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themſelves being not ripe in the Attick *Cuſtomes. I have therefore ſo farre endeavoured as you ſee. If any thing may afford a ſcruple to any, he ſhall engage mee that will require*

[illegible]
[illegible]
thoſe whoſe cares are [illegible] their
errours are told them. If this pleaſe, it
ſhall adde ſpurres to the finiſhing of this
courſe intended, & as occaſion may give
leave, you ſhall have the reſt that may
be ſpoken.

Yours

F. R.

Index Vocabulorum.

Lib. 1.

Cap. 1. *Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia,* Ἀκτική. Ἀκταία. Ἀκτή. *Athenæ in actâ, Cecropia, Cranaæ, Atthis, Attica, Athenæ ſub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi eâ de re ſententia, Alii ſub Erectheo volunt nominari, Juſtinus ſub Amphictyone, Salenos, Selines, Satinæ, Sethina.*

2 *Athenarum ſitus,* Ἄστυ, πόλις, Ἀκρόπολις, *Herbæ lucentes, Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonicus, Propylæa circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ* ἄνω & κάτω πόλις. *Piræi brachia. Murus phalericus, Porta, Aer, Laus paſſim apud Scriptores, Cephiſſus fluvius.* pag. 6.

3 Ἀττικοί. Ἀθηναῖοι. *Mores & ingenia.* Τὸ μιξοβάρβαρον. *Quantum hodierni differant à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habent.* pag. 14.

4 *De populi diviſione,* Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοὶ. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, Ἱππεῖς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. *Quid Atheniensibus cum Ægyptiis commune.* p. 18.

5 *Tribus quatuor ſub Cecrope, Mutata earum nomina, Augentur à Cliſthene, duæ additæ,* Φρατρία, Φράτορες. Τριττὺς, Γένος. *Tribulium* Κοινωνία φυλετικά. [illegible]. pag. 20

6 *Græcia vicatim habitata.* Δῆμος *quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere* δήμους. *Quot. Templa & ſacra pagatim.* pag. 23.

7 Τυραννὶς Ὀλιγαρχία, Δημοκρατία *Atheniensium ſtatus mutatio.* Ἱερὸς Σωτῆρες. [illegible]. pag. 28.

Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

Duodecim Dii Atheniensium. Idolatria ſeptifariam commiſſa. Dii aſcriptitii. Θεὸς Ἄγνωστος. pag. 36.

Cap. 2 *Jupiter* Βασιλεὺς, Νόμιος, Ἱκέσιος, Πολιεὺς, Βουλαῖος, Φράτριος, Εἰλαπιναστής, Ὁμόγνιος, Καταιβάτης, Ξένιος, Ἑταιρεῖος, Ξένιος. *Modii ſalis edendi, Teſſera hoſpitalis, ſeu ſymbolum. Apollo* Ἀποτρόπαιος, Πατρῷος, Ἀλεξίκακος, Ἀγυιαῖος. *Pæan & ejus verbi origo. Mercurius* Παλιγκάπηλος, Ἑρμαῖος, Στροφαῖος, Προπύλαιος. pag. 39.

3 *De Saturno Neptuno, Vulcano, Marte, Hercule* Ἄνακτες. pag. 4[illegible].

4 *De Minervâ, Cerere, & Proſerpinâ, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Juvene, Prometheo &c.* p. 43.

5. Θεοὶ Ἀθηναίων [illegible]. *Phacaſiani Dii* pag. 45.

6 *De ſuperſtitione Atheniensium & vaticiniis* pag. 47.

7 *De Templis & Aſylis* p. 52.

cap. 8.

Cap. 8. De *Sacerdotiis* pag. 55.
9 De *Sacrificiis* pag. 57
10 De Anno Attico pag. 60.
11 De *Tragædia*, *Satyrâ* & *Comædiâ* pag. 80.

LIB. 3.

Cap. 1. De *Legum-latoribus Atticis*. Νόμοι ἄγραφοι ϗ ἔγγραφοι. Ψήφισμα, Προβούλευμα, De *Sanciendis Legibus* pag. 94.
2 De *Comitiis* Κυρία & σύγκλητος Ἐκκλησία &c. pag. 101.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De *Tribunalibus* Atticis & *primum de senatu* Πεντακοσίων. pag. 104

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De *Areopago* & *ejus appellatione*. *Areopagita* pag. 122.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

De *judicio* ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ pag. 129.

CAP. III. SECT. IIII.

De *judiciis* ἐν Δελφινίῳ. Φρεατοῖ p. 133.

CAP. III. SECT. V.

De *Tribunalibus reliquis*. Παράβυστον. Τρίγωνον. Βατραχιοῦν. Φοινικιοῦν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. Μητίχου δικαστήριον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Διαιτηταί. pag. 133.
Cap. 4 De *nominibus Judicialibus*. pag. 136.

LIB. 4.

De *ritibus Nuptialibus* & *amatoriis*.

Cap. 1. De *venere* & *Cupidine*
2 De *Pæderastiâ* pag. 152.
3 De Amore *mulierum*. p. 154.
4 De *Amoris Indiciis* pag. 156.
5 De *Philtris* & *incantamentis*. pag. 158.
Cap. 6 De *usitato more significandi Amorem*. pag. 163.
7 De *Nuptiis* pag. 166.
8 *Quo tempore optime ducatur uxor* pag. 185.
9 *Quæ requirantur in Marito* pag. 187.
10 *Quæ requirantur in Uxore* pag. 189.
11 De *divortiis* pag. 192.
12 De *Mulierum Scleragogia* & *servilibus Ministeriis* pag. 194.
13 De *mulierum honestioribus opificiis* pag. 196.
14 De *Uxorum*, & *Filiarum Oecuriâ* pag. 198.
15 De *Adulterio* pag. 201.

LIB. V.

Cap. 1 De *puerperarum religione* &c. pag 204.
2 De *Puerperio* & *fætu Masculo* pag. 208.
3 De *infantibus lavandis* & *ungendis* pag. 209.
4 De *cunabulis* &c. pag. 211.
5 De *infantis gestatione circa focum* & *de nominis impositione* p. 214.
7 De *nutricibus* pag. 216.
8 De *expositione infantum* p. 217
9 De *liberorũ diversitate* p. 221.
10 *Liberorum educatione* p. 223.
11 De *puerorum castigatione* &c. pag. 224.
12 De *ascriptione in* φρατρίας pag. 226.
13 De *ascriptione in Epheborum censum* & *in album Lexiarchicum*. pag. 229.

pag. 229.
14 *Alimenta parentibus Alumnis præbenda* pag. 232.
15 *De Adoptione, Teſtamento & Hereditate* pag. 232.
16 *De neceſſitate ſepulturæ* pag. 234.
17 *De ter vocandâ animâ, & cenotaphiis* pag. 236.
18 *De mortui mutilatione & iis quæ in Homicidiis fieri ſolebant* pag. 238.
19. *De claudendis oculis, pulſandis æneis vaſis, & amiciendo Corpore* pag. 241.
20 *De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis* pag. 242
21 *De ablutione Mortuorum, Pollincturâ & amiculo ferali* p. 244.
22 *De ablutione à mortuis, de coronis quibus corpora ornabantur, de Lecto & Collocatione;* pag. 246.
23 *De ritu afferendi & Portandi Corporis*
24 *De Miniſterio funerarum & ſiticinum* pag. 250.
25 *De capillis in Luctu tondendis* pag. 251.
26 *De ritu lugendi in funere* pag. 254.
27 *De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus & de loco Sepulturæ* pag. 257.
28 *De Corporis Crematione* pag. 259
29 *De ritu cremandi ſive comburendi Corporis De loculis & reliquiis* pag. 262.
30 *De Tumulis* pag. 264.
31 *De Inferiis* pag. 265.
32 *De coronandis Tumulis & de Phyllobolià* pag. 268.
33 *De Columnis, de oratione, & ludis Funebribus & de Aquilis* pag. 269.
34 *De Luſtratione domus Funeſtæ, & de parentalibus* pag. 271.

LIB. VI. SECT. I.

De ſupplicationibus & Juramentis

Cap. 1 *De ſupplicibus Sacris, & de aſylis & aris* pag. 274.
2 *De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus* pag. 277.
3 *De generibus & locis ſacrificiorum* pag. 280.
4 *De generibus & formulis jurandi* pag. 282.
5 *De ritibus in Juramento Magno* p. 284.
6 *De juramento parvo & ejus ritibus* pag. 286.
7 *De perjurii religione*

Sect. 2 *de ritu convivandi.*

Cap. 1 *De Leſchis & de tempore victus capiendi* pag. 291.
2 *De ritibus & variis modis convivandi* pag. 275
3 De *more ſalutandi, Sympoſiarcho Coronis, Ʋnguentis, modo accumbendi, & de menſis* pag. 295
4 De *cibo & potu* pag. 299
5 *De iis quæ à diſcumbentibus fieri ſolebant* pag. 303
De *cantu convivali & Scoliis* pag. 304

Cap. 7.

Cap. 7 De *peregrinis excipiendis.* pag. 308
8 De *Hoſpitibus excipiendis* pag. 310
9 De *pauperibus ſublevandis* pag. 315
Sect. 3 De *ritibus Bellicis.*
Cap. De *militibus* pag. 315
2 De *armis quibus vim pro pulſabant* pag. 319
3 De *armis quibus vim inferebant* pag. 323
4 De *ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi bellum, Conſulendi Deos, obſervandi dies, & trajiciendi Fluvios* pag. 324
5 De *ritu committendi prælium & de uſu Tubarum* pag. 326
6 De *Scytale, de Militum pœnis, Premiis & Sepultura* pag. 328
7 De *Trophæis* pag. 331

Lib. 7. Sect. 1.

De *ritu divinandi per motum furentem & Somnlantem* pag. 334
Cap. 1 De *Oraculo Pythio* p. 336
2 De *Templo Delphico, de Thtoris & Oraculi ceſſatione* pag. 241
3 *De* Divinatione *per ſomnium, ſuper Melotas, in Templis cum obſervatione diata* pag. 347
4 De *duabus portis ſomniorum* p. 350
5 De *Somniorum variis generibus & de earum luſtratione.*
Sect. 2 De *Divinatione Artificioſa & primò de Ornithomantiâ* pag. 356
Cap. 1. De *Extiſpicinâ & quibuſdam aliis* pag. 360
2 De *ritu divinandi ex vocibus & rebus ominatis* pag. 365
3 De *Sortibus &c.* pag. 371

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ARCHAEOLOGIAE ATTICAE

LIB. I. CAP. I.

Iavan, Iat, Iaones, Ionia, Actica. ακτή. *unde Athena in actâ, Cecropia, Cranaa, Atthis, Attica. Athena ſub Cecrope. Certamen Palladis & Neptuni, Plutarchi ea de re ſententia, illi ſub Erictheo voluere nominari, Iuſtinus ſub Amphictyone. Salenos. Selines. Sauina. Sethina.*

BY the ſonnes of *Noah* [a] were the Iles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, when by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to heaven, thinking to leave a name to poſterity, by building Caſtles in the ayre. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a ſcattering abroad upon the face of the earth; he having ſo ſpoken it, whoſe breath alone affords a faire winde. Hoyſt then they muſt their Sailes, and bidding adieu to the plaine in the land of *Shinaar*, ſeek out ſome new habitation. Travellers they were before, and yet ſtill on their journey. Each one in as different a country, as of a divers language. The ſons of *Shem* there were, the ſons of *Iaphet* there, *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai*, and *Iavan*, with whom I purpoſe one furlong

[a] Gen. 10. 5.

to keep company, leaving the reſt of Arts to come after, or behinde, looking onely to my propoſed ſcope. b Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰωυάνου Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι. *From Javan came Ionia and all the Greeks.* And in Scripture we have *Javan* put for *Greece*, in *Daniel* twice, c *And when I am gone forth, loe the Prince of Grecia ſhall come.* And again, d *He ſhall ſtir up all againſt the Realm of Grecia.* Where although the old Tranſlation renders it not *Javan*, yet it is ſo found in the Original. He then coming into the Countrey, called afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Ionia* and *Jas*, e ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰὰς ἐκαλεῖτο. *For Attica was anciently called Ionia and Jas.* In which words we ſtill retain ſome reliques of the Radix, notwithſtanding the ſmall difference of the termination. But if we pleaſe to view after what title the *ſons of Javan* were ſtiled *Iaones*, we ſhall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above-quoted place, Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς [illegible] ἔνθα δὲ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἰάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λέγει. *Homer* when he ſays, *There the Bœotians and Iaones* ſpeaks of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiaſt* of *Æſchylus* on theſe words,

f Ἰαόνων γῆν οἴχεται πέρσας στρατός.

Ἰστέον ὅτι Ἰάονας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι [illegible]. *It is to be underſtood*, quoth he, *that the Athenians are termed Iaones, from one Iaon* (he means *Javan*) *that was their King.* Neither is it ſtrange that the *vau* or [illegible] is left out; for though it be not written, yet perſwaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other αυ Dipthongs were. For the g antique Latines and the Greeks ſpake it as broad αυ, as if it had been *Theſavros*, not *Theſauros*. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, *That Aſia the leſs had people before Greece had any, and that Javan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but took Aſia the leſs in his paſſage, and from thence paſt over the neareſt way, leaving his own name to ſome maritimate Province on that ſide, as he did* [illegible]. In which, although the authority of ſo worthy and judicious a Man might move much, yet it ſhall be ſufficient for me, onely to go ſo far, as

C antiquity

b Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

c Dan. 10. 20.

d Cap. 11. 2.

e Strabo l. 9. p. 392.

f In Perſis p. 133.

g Donat. in Ter. p. 130.

will bear me out; a *Thucydides reports*, that it is manifest, that all *Greece was not anciently firmly inhabited*, but that there were continual *Pilgrimages*, or *Removings* of the Inhabitants, forsaking their former places, being driven out by a stronger and greater number. Wherefore when there was no ſafe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each manured his Grounds to have *Provant* alone to ſerve for preſent neceſſity, deſiring no more then from hand to mouth, it being uncertain how ſoon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their ſeats; not taking grievous that ſharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni, Be gone you ancient Boors*. But the more fertil Soil had hard buſkrings. *Theſſalia, Bœotia*, and a great part of *Peloponneſus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled. b Τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὖσαν, ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί. *But Attica, by reaſon of the thinneſs or barrenneſs of the ground, was always inhabited by the ſame men* (none it ſeems being willing to leave his better for a worſe) *not affording food of contention*. Out of which peace ſprung up ſo great a multitude, that *Attica*, even now ſwarming, and ὡς ἱκανῆς ἔσης, *not able to contain and feed ſo many*, is conſtrained to ſend forth Colonies into *Ionia*, a region of *Aſia* the leſs, which is reported by the *Greeks* to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets ſay, *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be c Κτίστωρ Ἀσιάδος χθονός, *the maker or founder of Aſia*. The mother *Ionia* (for ſo I pleaſe to ſay) kept not ſtill her former name. For in proceſs of time ſhe owned *Actæa*, from *Actæon*, as d *Strabo* ſays, or from *Actæus*, according to *Pauſanias*, who was the firſt King thereof, by f *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron* called *Actæus*. But g *Dion Chryſoſtom* brings a more natural reaſon then this, why it was *Actæa*: *Acta* ſignifies a *ſhore*, both in the *Greek*, and * *Latine* ſpeech. Now becauſe all of it within a little was waſhed with the ſea, and h [illegible], it might challenge unto it ſelf *Actæa* [illegible]

a Lib. 1. p. 2.

b Thucid.

c In Ione T. 2. p. 619.

d Lib. 9. p. 397.

e In Att. p. 2.

f Pag. 23.

g Orat. 6.

* Virg. Æn. 5. p. 114.

h Strabo. l. 9. p. 391.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] who was [illegible]. Hence worthily the Geographical Poet in his i [illegible] is put for the Country, [illegible]. Becauſe it is (Akte) a cliff, that is caſt forth and lying in the Sea. And Athens his ſelf by Plautus is ſaid, Athenæ in acta, pro Athenis Atticis, as k Palmerius hath noted. But this great old after a ſeaſon, and Cecrops having married the daughter of Actæus, glorying in his Cecropia (and Athens Cecropia, and Cecropis civitas, and after that Cranaa) from Cranaus the king that ſucceeded him) This Cranaus, among other of his daughters, had one l Atthis, from whom alſo was derived Atthis and Attica, next Poſidonia and Minerva, from Neptune and Pallas. In this region ſtood Athens, Queen of Greece, ſo called from that victory which Minerva got over Neptune, when Cecrops moved with a prodigy of a ſudden ſhooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a ſalt ſpring in the Acropolis, conſulted the Oracle of Apollo, who taught them that the one did ſignifie Neptune, the other Minerva, taking therefore the men into ſuffrages for Neptune, and the women for Minerva, who had moſt voices ſhould carry it. The females being more, the Goddeſs bore away the bell. Lo here a witty Divel to bring in [illegible], Gods of his own making, to infold the ſuperſtitious in an ignorant zeal. However, let us leave the ſhadow of poëtical fictions, & take the true draught out of Mythologie. b Plutarch is of opinion that the ancient Kings, ſtriving to draw away their ſubjects from ſeafaring negotiations, and a deſire to live by ſailing, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occaſion of the ſpeech that Neptune and Minerva did altercate about the city. [illegible] &c. Neptune is put for the Sea, and buſineſſes thereof. Minerva for Arts and ingenuous kinde of life, nay ſays Ovid in his Kalender, Mille Dea eſt operum, ſhe is Goddeſs of 1000 Trades. Others ſay that the City was conſecrated to her by Amphictyon, & nomen civitati Athenas dedit, c Juſtine. Others in the time of Erectheus, among which is Herodotus, will have this name

i Pag. 22.

k In Spicilegiis.

l Strabo & Pauſ. loc. a præd.

a Varro apud Auguſt. l. 18. c. 9 de civit. Dei.

b In Them. p. 174. 23.

c Lib. 2.

given. Which [illegible] *Iuſtin* [illegible] [illegible]. This was that *Erechtheus*, who in a time of drought over all the world except *Ægypt*, brought corn to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleuſinian myſteries*. Beſides, this Citie hath been to *Ægypt* for other kings, to wit, e *Cecrops* and *Amphictyon*; for his father *Petes* was an *Ægyptian*. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus* and before him was it a received opinion that *Athens* was peopled by the *Ægyptians*, *Sais* in that tongue anſwering to *Athene* in *Greek*, as *Tzetzes* out of *Charax*. Nay that they ſhould be of the inhabitants of *Sais*, they argue from this, Becauſe that the *Saitæ* and *Athenians* have divers cuſtomes alike. Witneſſe *Diodorus Siculus*. But it pleaſes not me. I conjecture that firſt it was called *Athens*, when the people began more ſeriouſly to addict themſelves to civill goverment, and ſtudie of good literature; knowledg and art being aſcribed to *Minerva*. [illegible] ſaies f *Ariſtotle*. Nay her name being derived from thence, [illegible] *thena* in the *Chaldy* tongue ſignifying to *ſtudy* or *learne*: from which come *thenaa*, and with an article *Hathenaa* as g *Heinſius* the moſt learned. As for the conceit of *Goropius Becan* from *ana* the number of three which notes eternity, and ſo from *hat-bet-ana Athenæ* Becauſe wiſedom doth contain eternity, let us ſend it back into *Germanie*. Loe now *Athens* named from learning, which was once the h *ſhop of letters* and the Muſes, which of it is now deplorably deſtitute, having loſt the glory of former *Athens*, nay the name it ſelfe. For if we believe ſome, they tell us, that now it is *Saletes* or *Setines*. To whom I accord not. Becauſe that I have read *Selines* for *Megara* called *Niſæa*, which is not many miles from *Athens*. Furthermore in diſcourſe with a native of *Peloponneſus*, who lived many yeares in that City, I had no other appellation from him then *Atiene* which others write *Sethina* corrupted as *Porter* and *Meurſius* truly think for *εἰς Ἀθήνας*. Nay a *Hugo Favolius* who was there

A 3 himſelf

d In [illegible]

e Ariſtoph. ſch. pag. 79. Tzetz. in Lycoph. p. 113.

f Polit. l. 8. c. 9.

g In Ariſtar. Sac. Synt. 1. 6. P. 27.

h Iſidor.

a In Hodæp. Byz. l. 3.

[illegible]
[illegible] Pallas [illegible]
[illegible] Neptune [illegible]
[illegible]
We wrangled Athens round do view, which now,
Though once ingenious *Pallas* ſtately ſhow'd ſtand,
And I have ſeen them, *Neptune*, wouldſt diſavow,
To which the homebred give *Setines* name.

CAP. II.

Athenarum ſitus. Ἀκρόπολις. Κεκροπία. *Herbæ latentes, Murus, Pelaſgicus & Cimonius,* Propylæa. *Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ:* ἄστυ & ἀστυάνας. *Piræei brachia. Murus Phalericus. Portæ. Attic. Laus paſſim apud ſcriptores. Cephiſſus Fluvius.*

GReece, ſays b *Ariſtides*, is placed in the midſt of the whole Earth, and in the midſt of it ſtands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all *Greece*, cloſeted in the womb of time, received nouriſhment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is ſeated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do incompaſs in a Circle; on the top of which ſtands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himſelf named c *Cecropia*; of old ἄστυ, *The City*, by a kinde of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning which they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witneſs d *Pauſanias*. e *Terent*, *An in aſtu venit?* Donat. *Sic Athenienſes urbem ſuam vocabant, unde ipſi incolæ* ἀστοὶ *vocantur.* So, ſaith he, the *Athenians* called their City, whence the Citizens themſelves are called *aſtoi*: after that they called it πόλις f *Pauſanias*. Which in his time was called *Acropolis* or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Caſtle; which

b In Panath. p. 171, 172.

Lib. 9. p. 396.

c Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

d In Att. p. 13. l. 16.

e Eunuch. act. 5. ſc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24. l. 4.

which ever were famous [illegible] making therefore aptly [illegible] in his [illegible] *tinens in summis urbium arcibus. The Goddesse that keeps the Turrets of Cities.* This onely now remains the succour and ſhelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being ſtrongly furniſhed with Men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries, to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand, as *Chriſtophoro Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing leaſt he had miſtaken the number. As for the Forces thereof [a] *Hugo Favolius* ſhall thus inſtruct you,

Arx capitum celebris hoc tempore manſit eodem
Quæque impoſita jugo eſt, vaſtas proſpectat in undas
Æquoris, & circum diſperſa mapalia, & omnes
Externo indigenas nocuo tuetur ab hoſte,
Nobilis arx, toto qua non eſt altera Graio
Nota magis regno, validiſque inſtructior armis,
Ignivomæque magis tormentorum impete tuta.
A Caſtle onely famous at this day,
Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.
The ſcattered thatcht ſheds that ſtand it about,
The Fort defends, and keeps Invaſion out,
And Natives ſafe. A Fort; none noted more
In *Greece*, which hath a better Warlike ſtore,
Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

Upon the top of this Turret ſtand the faſhions of Halfe Moons moſt curiouſly gilded, after the manner of the *Iſmaelites*, who have the Moon in no ſmall honor, as my much honored Mr. [b] *Selden* hath obſerved. Of which Lunulets thus ſpeaks *Favolius*,

Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
Ardua [illegible] ferirent faſtigia nubes.
Whoſe tops with gilded Moons aſpiring high,
Doe knock the Clouds, the pilgrims of the sky.

Neither may it paſs obſcurely which I have taken up, being let fall from the mouth of an eye-witneſſe, namely, that on the ſide

Orat. in Minerv. To. 1. p. 11.

[a] Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

[b] De Diis Syris, Syn. 2. cap. p. 288.

ſide of this hill, on which the Acropolis is built, grows a certain kind of herb, they ſay, in the night ſeaſon, gives a ſmall ſhining and glittering light, to which when a man ſhall approach, he ſhall diſcern nothing but the herb it ſelf. Of which matter I ſeriouſly wiſh that I could teſtify the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit. The Walls that environ this are none now, ſaies *Favolius*, but in former time it hath been well fenced; ſome part thereof erected by thoſe two *Tuſcan* brothers, who leaving their country, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called πελαργοὶ, *Pelargi*, Storks, διὰ τὴν πλάνην, for there wandring. a *Strabo*. b *Plinie* ſaith their names were *Euryalus* and *Hyperbius*. The two that firſt built houſes of brick at *Athens*, when formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the authority of *Pauſanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the perſons wrong, in puting a falſ name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Laterarias domus conſtituerunt primi* Agrolas & *Hyperbius fratres Athenis*, &c. c *Pauſanias*, κατὰ τὰ Ἀγρόλαν καὶ Ὑπέρβιον. From theſe was that part which they edified called *Pelargicum*. *Ariſtophanes in Avibus*,

Τίς δ' ἂν καθέξει τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Cimon* the ſonne of *Miltiades* clothed. *Pauſanias* in the fore quoted place. Theſe walls admitted no gate but one, ſo rarely beautified with that coſtly *Propylæum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is diſcommended by d *Demetrius Phalereus* for diſburſing ſo great a ſum of money. e For which he was not ſmally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore ſeeing him ſomewhat ſad, and demanding the cauſe, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, ſeek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counſell the *Athenians* were entangled with that neighbour war againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, as which they found not vacancy for an audit.

a Lib. 9. p. 397.

b Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

c In Attic. p. 26. l. 34.

d Tul. Off. l. 2.

e Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 1.

By the way it ſhall be fit to acquaint you with thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as [f] *Plutarch* διὰ τὸ ἀσελγὲς ϗ δυσῶδες it may be, for his heat in Venery and ill favour. Goats likewiſe, ſaies [g] *Varro*, came not thither, unleſſe for a neceſſary ſacrifice once, leſt they ſhould hurt the *Olive*, which is ſaid firſt to have ſprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is ſaid to be threeſcore ſtadia. Now a *Stadium* is about ſome *ſix hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the cuſtome of the ancient Greeks, ſo to meaſure the length or diſtance of grounds, or Cities, by the μίλιον. The firſt City then is contained in ſeaven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houſes able to make a City of themſelves. And ſo indeed were they diſtinguiſhed by ἡ ἄνω & ἡ κάτω πόλις. The upper and lower City. [h] *Plutarch*, τὴν κάτω ϗ περὶ θαλάσσαν οἰκοῦσαν ἀεὶ πόλιν διαφυλάξειν. Note here moreover, in the reading of your Greek Authors that when you meet with τὸ ἄνω in the deſcription of a Countrey, you preſently muſt conceive the higher part, if it be τὸ κάτω, the lower. [a] *Thucydides.* Ἔφερον τε γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε ϗ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν. *And they preyed upon each other, and among the reſt who were not addicted to the ſea, yet lived below*; underſtand neare the ſea, *Schol.* κάτω ἤγουν ἐγγὺς τῆς θαλάσσης. The τὸ ἄνω then, and τὰ κάτω knit together made but one joynt corporation; both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themſelves, tooke up, as [b] *Dion Chryſoſtome* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiaſt* teſtifying that the walls were ρκ´ ἑνὸς δέον σταδίων ἦν fifteen miles ſave one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had ſo ſoon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written κ for ιε, twenty for fifteene. For ſo it ought to be. Neither is it ſtrang that it had ſo large a bound. For conſider that from Piræum to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may ſee in [c] *Pliny*, from *Athens* to Phalerum, and ſo to the other ſide of Piræum foure miles

[f] Ἐλληνικ. p.175.

[g] De re Ruſt.

* *Five feet make a pace, and a thouſand paces a mile.* Iſidor. Orig. li. 15. c. 16.

[h] In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.

[a] Lib. 1. p. 6. 2.

[b] Orat. 6.

[c] Nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 85.

and a quarter. The utmoſt wall of which *Thucydides* ſpeakes in the ſecond book conſiſted of five miles a quarter and halfe. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had ſeven miles and an halfe more. All which being put together makes up but twentie two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chryſoſtoms* muſt be here underſtood; and it behoves us to conceive that he ſpake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold, but I ſuppoſe ſome houſes to have been without [d] περὶ τὸ περίβολον, as he ſaies, τοῦ ἄστεως [illegible] γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξημαρτάνετο. In which I appeale to more judicious heads. Neither can I ſilently paſſe by the opinion of *John Meurſius*, who reading in [e] *Pauſanias* theſe words Ἀθηναίοις τε δὴ σταδίοις μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀπέχουσα τῆς πόλεως ἡ περὶ Φαληρῷ θάλασσα, ſhould preſently obtrude to us, that *Pauſanias* teaches, that the [f] wall called *Phalericum* is but twenty *ſtadia* or two mile and an halfe. When indeed he meant nothing leſſe. For ſpeaking of ſalt ſprings, which he calls θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ, he ſeems to involve a reaſon drawn from the neereneſſe of the ſea. For when he writs of this brackiſh well, *Among the Athenians, the ſea which comes up neere Phalerus is diſtant from the City but twenty ſtadia at the moſt*, quoth he. Where *Amaſæus* hath thus ſtrangly doted. *Athenæ à Phalero abſunt ſtadia haud amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which follows. He might have likewiſe conſidered that περὶ with a Dative caſe ſignifies not only *juxta* and *prope* as I have tranſlated it; but *ſupra* ſometimes, which will now ſerve better. And *Meurſius* indeed blames the number, but ſees not into the words. Now it is not needleſs that the two walls, which joyns *Piræum* and *Athens* at ſo long a diſtance, be ſomewhat ſpoken of, ſeeing they are reckoned by [a] *Livie* among the *multa viſenda*, Many things worthy of ſight at *Athens*. Theſe are the μακρὰ τείχη, in [b] *Propertius*, —*Theſea brachia longa viæ.* [c] Appian of *Alexandria* μακρὰ σκέλη, and [d] *Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which [e] *Plutarch*. The other towards the South,

in

[d] Loco citato.

[e] In Archad. p. 244. l. 37.

[f] Att. Lect. l. 3. c. 4.

[a] Lib. 31.

[b] Lib. 3. Eleg. 19. p. 192.

[c] In bello Mith. p. 125. l. 9.

[d] Pag. 355. l. 10

[e] In Pericle. p. 155. l. 20.

in height about forty Cubits, as [f] *Appian* teſtifies. Theſe are called τὰ μακρὰ τείχη by [g] *Dion Chryſoſtom*, becauſe *Athens* being at one end, and *Piræum* at the other theſe were drawn forth between. And when Writers ſpeak of Νότιον διὰ μέσου τεῖχος, it may be conjectured that it is for diſtinction of that Νότιον τεῖχος in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, [h] witneſſe *Pauſanias*. *Ariſtophanes* ſeems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themiſtocles* built theſe. *In* [i] *Equitibus*.

Τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέμαξεν.

Which his [k] Scholiaſt affirms, Τὸν γὰρ Πειραιᾶ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. *For Themiſtocles added Piræum to the City.* We read in [l] *Probus* that he was the onely Agent in walling the City, & that he ſo haſtned the accompliſhing, that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make uſe of Materials formerly conſecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But [m] *Plutarch* gain-ſays this, and that he did onely τὴν πόλιν ἐξῆψεν τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης, conjoyn the City and *Piræum*, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It ſeems ſomewhat forward before. However, ſo fenny was the ground it was founded upon, that the work ſoon came to great reparation, which [n] *Cimon* the ſon of *Miltiades* undertook. For with Stones of an huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth ſo firm that it could not give. Nay he was ſo liberal, that he did out of his own Expences ſo great favors, to a People that ſome years after gratified him with exile. Neither did he onely mend the breaches, but in after-time [o] finiſhed the whole work, ſo that he may be truly ſaid to be the Founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * *Meurſius* hath obſerved ten, but I fear they will ſcarce ſuffice to ſuch a vaſt City. Take then theſe, *Dipylon* or *Thriaſia*, the faireſt of all, *velut in ore urbis poſita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, ſays [p] *Livie*, *major aliquanto patentiorq; quam cetera eſt*, greater ſomewhat and wider then the reſt. Hence I ſuppoſe named *Dipylon*, as if it were as big as two Gates. Πύλαι ἱεραί. *Pi-*

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[f] In Mith. p. 124. l. ult.

[g] Orat. 6.

[h] In Attic. p. 19. l.8.

[i] P. 337.

[k] P. 338. A. col. 2.

[l] In Them. p. 27.

[m] In Them. p. 87. l.25.

[n] Plut. in Cim. p.355. l.14

[o] Plut. p.355. l.12. *unleſs* τὸ ὕστερον *may have reſpect to Conon, who after the victory at Cnidus erected theſe walls,* as Pauſan. in Attic. p.2.l.14. *I would neither deceive my ſelf or the Reader.*

* Attic. Lect. initio.

[p] Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 11. A.

raica. Neere the Temple of *Chalcodoon.* Here were buried ſome of thoſe that died in fight with the *Amazons* in the time of *Theſeus.* q *Plutarch.* Ἱππάδες. *Hippades*, where the bones of *Hyperides* the famous Oratour reſts with his progenitours, who being racked under *Antipater*, choſe rather to bite off his tongue, then to divulge the ſecrets of his country. a Ἱεραί. *Sacra*, the ſacred gate. We read of this in b *Theophraſtus's Characters*, but to my great admiration, that the Eagle-ſighted *Caſaubon* had not eſpyed a fault. For though it be true that there were ſuch gates at *Athens* as ἱεραί, yet is there any that ever read κατὰ τὰς ἱερὰς πύλας ἐξενεχθῆναι νεκρούς, the dead to have been carried out to buriall through the Sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was ſpoken to a ſtupid fellow, for they ſpake not as our vulgar doe, ſuch as, *When Chriſtmas comes out of Wales.* write then Ἠρίαι. *Heia* are the gates at which they went forth with their Corps at the ſolemnizations of their obſequies, the reaſon of which ſhall be ſpoken hereafter. c *Demoſthenes,* Αἰγέως πύλαι. The gates of *Ægeus.* It ſeemes to have been in *Delphinium* where he dwelt; whence the *Hermes* or Image towards the Eaſt end of the Temple was called d Ἑρμῆς ὁ πρὸς Αἰγέως πύλαις. *The ſtatue at the gates of Ægeus,* Μελιτίδες. *Melitides.* Where lyes *Thucydides* the ſonne of *Olorus* that wrote the *Peloponneſian War*, who after his returne into his country from baniſhment, was treacherouſly murthered, his Sepulcher ſtands neere theſe gates. e *Pauſanias.* Κεραμεικαί. *Ceramicæ.* Theſe are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ πύλαι. *The gates in Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedemonians* were buried, which died in the ſeditious War that *Thraſybulus* made againſt the *Thirty Tyrants.* f *Xenophon.* Διοχάρους πύλαι. The gates of *Diochares.* Of whom I have nought to ſpeak. Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι. The *Acharnian gates.* I ſuppoſe they were called ſo from that Town or Village neere, named *Acharnia*, to which it is probable it looked. For ſo did the ancients name their Gates from the town to which they were neere. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina* from

q In Theſeo. p.9.l.20.

a ἐν βίοις τῶν ι' ῥητόρων p.456.

b περὶ ἀναισθησίας. p.45.

c Pag.715. num.95.

d Plut. Theſ. p.4.l.21.

e Atticis p.21. l.41.

f Ἑλληνικ. β. p.279.l.45.

from *Collatia*, a Burge not far off. And happily it is ſo here, as alſo in Διόμεια. *Diomea*; for *Diomia* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter diſtant from the City. Θριάσιαι. *Thracia*. Theſe are all that ever I met with named: others there are obſcurely pointed at by [g] *Pauſanias*, as that neere the Gallery which from its various draughts they call *Pœcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in braſſe. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of which I had better hold my peace then ſpeak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates, which being opened enter, ſuck that ſweet aire, whoſe excellent purity brought forth ſuch acute wits, [a] and prepared with a moſt happy bounty underſtanding judgments for contemplation. Whence [b] *Euripides* may well ſtraine to this note, that *Venus* ſitting neere, and adorning her ſelfe, ſends forth continually *Cupids of learning*, παντοίας ἀρετᾶς ξυνεργούς. Well may he bleſſe that clime ſtiling it, [c] λαμπροτάτου αἰθέρος, which hath been the Mother of the *Muſes* (by the leave of *Mnemoſyne*) or at leaſt the Nurſe to them, for there are they ſaid to have travelled with *Harmonia*, as if there were no ſuch melodious concent, as in the Sciences. Let not [d] *Theophraſtus* aſſert all *Greece* to lie under the ſame temperature and diſpoſition of the heavens, when at this day it may be ſpoken, as once *Ariſtides* did of it, [e] No coaſt ſo truely void of all earthly dregs, and participating more of the celeſtiall and defecated aire. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been laviſh in expreſſions. [f] *Famous*, [g] *The moſt renowned*, [h] *Happy*, [i] *Sacred Athens*. *Pindarus*. [k] *Wonderfull*. [l] *Much ſpoken of* [m] *Neat*, &c. To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephiſſus*, which is able to beare veſſels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* fearing leſt it might be advantagious to an enemy that might invade them, have cut it into many and ſundry little ſtreams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of ſtones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have ſufficiently prevented that, which they did but ſuppoſe could happen.

Meurſius hath added two. Itonex, & Scææ. in Atticis *which I never ſaw until I had written this place, as God & man is my witneſſe. I ſpeak leſt any ſhould think that I have ſtolne out of him, becauſe we meet*

[g] Atticis p. 14. c. 11.

[a] Caſſiod. Var. l. 12.

[b] Medea. p. 460. 461.

[c] Med. p. 459.

[d] In Præf. ad ad Charact.

[e] Tom. 1. p. 173.

[f] Aia. p. 57.

[g] Oed. Col. p. 258.

[h] Oed. Col. p. 264.

[i] Aia. p. 712.

[k l m.] p. 362.

CAP. III.

Ἀττικοί. Ἀθηναῖοι, *Mores, & Ingenia.* τὸ [illegible]. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus; & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habent.*

THE *Athenians* by *l Dicæarchus* are divided into two ſorts, Ἀττικοὺς, *Atticos*, and Ἀθηναίους. Of which though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Inſomuch as one of the puniſhments, which the *Athenians* are ſaid to inflict upon their women (for the appeaſing of *Neptune*, bringing in an inundation upon their fields to their great dammage, in anger conceived for loſs of the Title of the City) was this, *m* That none ſhould after call them Ἀθηναίας, *Athenians*, but Ἀττικάς, *Atticas*. A revenge I ſuppoſe opprobrious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν περίεργοι τῶν λαλιᾷ, ἄπιστοι, συκοφαντώδεις, παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. *Curious bablers, Deceitful, Calumniators, Obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers.* [illegible] A ſufficient witneſs of this is *a* St. *Luke*, that ſays, *They did regard nothing more then to hear and ſpeak novelty.* To which end they often met in Barbers ſhops, where all the news, that was going in thoſe days, was currant. Hence ſay we, *verba in tonſtrinis proculcata*: and in Greek ἐπὶ τοῖς κουρείοις λόγος, *b Ariſtophanes.*

Καίτοι λόγος γ' ἦν, νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, πολὺς
Ἐπὶ τοῖσι κουρείοισι, τῶν καθημένων
Ὡς ἐξαπίνης ἀνὴρ γεγένηται πλούσιος

They that ſate in Barbers Shops did talk much that he was ſuddenly grown rich. The Scholiaſt ſeems to take the meaning, as if the Comœdian had quipped them for reſorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I ſee no reaſon. They met in both to prattle. *c Ælian* Καθιζόμενοι ἐν ἰατρείοις, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ἀγ-

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l ἐν βίῳ Ἑλλάδος. p. 169.

m Varro apud Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 9.

a Act. 17.

b In Pluto p. 38.

c Var. hist. lib. 3. c. 7.

[illegible]. Sitting in a Chyrurgions ſhop, ſcandalous, and thirſty to ſpeak ill by all means, ὕπουλοι, men Italianated, who can ſmile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophraſtus* hath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their enemies, and diſguiſe their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their ſnares; that ſalute with mortall Embracements, and claſp you in thoſe arms, which they mean to embrew in your deareſt Blood. In ſum, fair without, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above and ſeems ſound, but putrifies under the skin. And ſo much the word doth import. Συκοφαντώδεις. Given to falſe accuſations. The [e] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes, That it being forbidden to carry Figs out of *Athens*, and ſome, nevertheleſs the Decree being abſolute againſt it, preſuming ſo to do, they ſet Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as [f] *Plutarch* likewiſe) Hence came this word to be uſed for any crafty Knave that gets his living by promooting, [g] ἀπὸ συκοφαντίζειν. One that meddles in every mans affairs, and therefore [h] *Ariſtophanes* hath fitly brought one upon the Scene, terming himſelf an *Overſeer* both of private and publike matters. If then ſuch a perſon had eſpied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as ſure have fetched him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a perſon delinquent towards the fleſh, or any Lawyer a credulous Client, and having well plumed him, afterwards give him a Dimiſſory. Βελτίους (*Sycophanta*) μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν, ζῆν εἴων. *Xenophon*. Such were many in *Athens*, inſomuch that *Ariſtotle* being asked what *Athens* was, anſwered, πάγκαλαι, *All beautiful*, ἀλλ' ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνῃ γηράσκει σῦκον δ' ἐπὶ σύκῳ, in a Verſe of [k] *Homer*, in the deſcription of *Alcinous* his Garden, but pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a continual ſucceſſion of ſycophants. This made *Iſocrates* the Orator to compare the city to a Curtezan, wth whom few there were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife, affirming it the beſt place to ſojourn in, but the worſt to inhabit.

By

[d] Cap. περὶ εἰρωνείας.

[e] In Plut. p. 5?

[f] In Solone p. 65.

[g] Xenophon. Ἑλλήνικ. β. p. 271. l. 20.

[h] Pluto p. 90. c. p. 91. b.

[i] Ἑλλην. β. p. 272. l. 19.

[k] Ὀδυσσ. η.

By reaſon of their Sycophants and trecheries of nimble tongued Oratours. Παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. I was once halfe in an opinion that theſe words were to have been put to the former thus, συκοφαντώδεις παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. And I thinke the ſenſe will runne well, *Malitious obſervers of the lives of ſtrangers.* The *Athenians were* φιλόξενοι and held hoſpitality ſacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That forrainers ſhould receive no wrong,* ἵνα μηδ᾽ ἀδικῶνται. b *Socrates* in *Xenophon.* Now he diſcommends the Ἀττικοὶ as ready to trouble and vex ſtrangers in law, duly marking and bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage: As for the *Athenienſes* they were μεγαλόψυχοι, ἁπλοῖ τοῖς τρόποις, φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, *Brave ſpirited, ſingle dealing, and faithfull friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, ſo did their mãners degenerate, growing into ἀνωμαλίαν τῆς φύσεως, an *Irregularitie of nature,* as c *Polybius.* No μεγαλοψυχία afterwards, but haughtineſſe of ſpirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when b *Livy* ſayes *Ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos ſervare,* he meanes, they had nothing left but thoſe proud ſpirits, which their ancient flouriſhing fortune had puffed up. No ἁπλότης, or ſimplicity, *no* e *lamb-like innocency* or mildneſſe, but as f *Plutarch* ſpeaks, *people raſhly angry, ſoone pittifull, rather inclined ſharply to take opinion, then quietly to be enformed. And as they are ready to helpe baſe and object peaſants, ſo friendly do they entertaine childiſh and ridiculous toyes, rejoycing in their own praiſes, and nothing moved with ſcurrility, Fearefull and terrible even to their governors, humane towards their enemies.* Not unfitly then g *Valerius Maximus, Quantam ergo reprehenſionem merentur, &c.* How deſerve they to be blamed who though they had juſt lawes, yet had moſt wicked diſpoſitions, and choſe rather to take their own courſes, then put in practiſe their ſtatutes? As for their impudence, ſo great was it, that to expreſſe a countenance void of ſhame, the Comœdian hath put Ἀττικὸν βλέμμα, An *Athenian looke,* in h *Nubibus.* φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, So accounted in the time of a *Pater-*

culus,

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b Ἀπομνημ. β. p.428.

c Lib.6.

d Dec.4.p.7. l.1.

e Ariſtoph. p. 694.

f πολιτ. παραγγ. p.387.

g Lib.5. c.3.p. 207.

h Pag.189.g.

a Lib.2.p.47.

culus, that what was done in ſincerity and faithful truſt, the *Romans* would ſay it was performed *fide Attica*, with an *Athenian* loyalty. Fear and power might make them truſty, but how they brake their Leagues, took part with other *Iſlanders* againſt conſederates, and violated the Laws of arms, Hiſtorians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was μνησίκακος, ever mindful, as *b Virgil*, *memor iræ*. And the hatred they proſecuted the Barbarians withal, was ſo unquenchable, that it burned againſt *c* all *Barbarians* for the *Perſians* ſake; and they forbad them their Sacrifices, as they uſed to do murderers among them: Where you muſt note, that all that were not *Græcians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But lo! How are they now become all barbarous! whether or no people of *Africa*, or ſome of the *Catelani*, I cannot juſtly tell. *Mahumedans* all, poor and miſerable, living by rapine, or fiſhing, or tilling the earth, *d Favolius*. *Duráq; coacti*

Pauperie aſſuerunt vitam tolerare rapina,
Aut paſſim infeſtant furto, raptúq; propinqua
Æquora piſcantur, ſed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit ineſcatos teretes ſub arundine piſces.
Aut deſolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, miſera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.

Oppreſt with need, they do their life ſuſtain,
By rapine, and annoy the neighbor main
With pillaging. Who are more juſt and good
With angling do the ſilly fiſh delude;
Or plough the grounds made deſolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, miſerable, ſtill poor.

b Æneid. 1.

c Iſocrat. in Pan. 109.

d Hodœp. Byz. l. 3.

CAP. IV.

De populi diviſione, Εὐπατρίδαι. Γεωμόροι. Δημιουργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ἱππεῖς. Ζευγῖται. Θῆτες. Quid Athenienſibus cum Ægyptiis commune.

There were at firſt two kindes of People in *Athens*, [e] two orders, *quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortuneq; aliquid interlucebat*, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: ſuch as at this day are in *France* either Peers or Peaſants; or as in *Venice*, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. And although *Pollux* calls them τρία ἔθνη, three ſorts, yet I make but two, becauſe the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentile for blood, ſurpaſſing for riches, or happy for life. But becauſe he hath ſo ſet them, take them thus, as he ſpeaks, τρία δ' ἦν ἔθνη πάλαι, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. Εὐπατρίδαι, *Eupatridæ*, were ſuch as were deſcended from the loyns of thoſe *Heroes* famous in the Greek Hiſtory, whoſe Families were ever renowned, and poſterity propagated to many generations, ſuch as *Praxiergidæ*, *Eteobutadæ*, *Alcmæonidæ*, *Cynidæ*, *Ceryces*, &c. whom we may tearm Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, *Geomori*, may not ſeem unlike our Yeomen, who had lands of their own, and ſuſtained themſelves with the fruit and commodity of theſe their poſſeſſions. Δημιουργοί, *Demiurgi*, were men of ſome handy-craft, Tradeſ-men, ſuch as Tent-makers, Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Maſons, and the like. But *Solon* made another diviſion. For when the *Diacrii*, which were thoſe that lived in the upper part of the City, οἱ ἐξ ἄστεος, ſays, *Diogenes Laertius*; and the *Pediai*, which likewiſe are πεδιεῖς ſuch as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the *Paralii* who lived near the Sea, were at contention about government. The *Diacrii* leaning to a Democraty, as [c] *Plutarch* writes, the *Pediai* to an Oligarchy, and the *Paralii* between both, and had choſen *Solon* to arbitrate and determine the matter

[e] *So doth* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus *divide them into* εὐπατρίδας & ἀγροίκους, lib. 2. n. 2.

[a] Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. p. 404.

[b] In Solone.

[c] Pag. 61. In Solonem.

matter; he made theſe four ranks. Πεντακοσιομεδίμνους, Ἱππεῖς, ζευγίτας, Θῆτας, Pentacoſiomedimnos, Equites, Zeugitas, Thetas. Pentacoſiomedimni were thoſe who [d] ἐν ξηροῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑγροῖς, could make five hundred meaſures in wet and dry commodities alike. What Peſſardus then brings out of Varro concerning modium, hath no place here; for he ſuppoſes that Pentacoſiomedimnus was he that had as much ground as fitty Medimni could ſuffice to ſow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὑγροῖς. For he ſeems to ſow upon the waters. This is he whom the Elzevirii printed at Leyden, An. 1635. under the name of Poſtellus, who was ſometimes a Profeſſor of Tongues in France, and Author of the Treatiſe de Magiſtratibus Athenienſium. Equites were ſuch as were of ability to keep a horſe, or had the quantity of three hundred meaſures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewiſe Ἱππάδα τελοῦντες. Zeugitæ, were ſuch as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred. Any of theſe three could bear office in the Commonwealth. A fourth ranck which he called [e] Θῆτας, Thetas, a name from ſervility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal-publique. But it had not been amiſs if I had ſhewn how the Ægyptians had divided their people into three Claſſes, as the Athenians did, as I have ſpoken above. For the firſt degree or Eupatridæ, addicted to learning and ſtudy, who were had in greater honor, anſwer to the Ægyptian Prieſts. [f] Nay thoſe great houſes in Athens had Prieſthood by ſucceſſion, as Eumolpidæ, Ceryces, Cynidæ. For out of the ſtock were choſen Prieſts, hence ἱερωσύνην ἐκ τῶν in [g] Demoſthenes. The Geomori who had lands aſſigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not diſlike them in Ægypt who hold poſſeſſions on theſe tearms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need ſhall requre to fight. The Demiurgi reſemble thoſe Plebeians, who skilful in ſome Art, did ſet out their labor to daily hire, as Diodorus Siculus can teſtifie.

[d] Plut. p. 65.

[e] Plutarch. loco prædicto.

[f] Plut. Theſ. p. 8. l. 18.

[g] Pag. 741. num. 164.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Clisthene: duæ additæ, Φρατρία, Φράτορες, Γεννῆται. Ἦθος, *Tribulium* Κοινωνία. Φύλαρχοι, Δήμαρχοι, Ναύκραροι.

IN *Athens* there were but four Tribes under the rule of *Cecrops. Cecropis, Autocthon, Actæa, Paralia*; which had other names put to them, *Cranais, Atthis, Mesogæa, Diacris.* I ſuppoſe from the parts of *Attica*, it lying partly neer the Sea, thence *Actæa*, partly hilly, thence *Diacris*, partly Mediterrane, thence *Mesogæa*, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour the Tribe ſo much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as *Cecrops* gave the firſt names, *Cranaus* the ſecond, *each aſſuming a title to himſelf. Ericthonius* called them after the name of *Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan.* Διὰς, Ἀθηναῒς, Ποσειδωνιὰς, Ἡφαιστιάς. But when *Ion* came to rule, they were named after his four ſons, *Geleontes, Ægicoreis, Argades, Hopletes,* as [a] *Herodotus* and [b] *Euripides.* Though *Plutarch* ſays that they were ſo called, [c] ἀπὸ τῶν γενῶν εἰς ἃ διῃρέθησαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, from the courſes of life which they firſt took. But *Cliſthenes*, a man factious and wealthy, is ſaid by the Councel of [d] *Apollo, Alcmaon* being *Archon* to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from ſome Demi-gods or *Heroes* born in that land, all except *Ajax*, whom though a ſtranger, he put to the reſt as a neighbor and companion. [e] *Herodotus.* Theſe then were called Ἐπώνυμοι; as you would ſay, giving names; the word ſo ſignifies ſometimes, as *Minerva* is ſaid by *Dion Chryſoſtom*, Ἐπώνυμος Ἀθηνῶν, who gave the names to *Athens.* To theſe were erected Statues near the Councel place of the Senate. Their names are theſe, as [f] *Pauſanias* hath them. *Hippothoon, Antiocus, Ajax Telamonius,*

[a] In Terpſich. p. 137.

[b] In Ione verſus finem.

[c] in Solon. p. 65.

[d] Ariſtides T. 1. p. 336. A. T. 3. p. 352.

[e] In Terpſich. p. 137.

[f] in Att. p. 4. 5.

mius, *Leo*, *Erictheus* that ſlew *Immaradus* the ſon of *Eumolpus* in the *Eleuſinian* War, *Ægeus*, *Oeneus*, *Acamas*, *Cecrops*, *Pandion.* From theſe Ἱπποθοωντὶς, Ἀντιοχὶς, Αἰαντὶς, Λεοντὶς, Οἰνηὶς, Ἀκαμαντὶς, Κεκροπὶς, Πανδιονίς. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name in gratitude to them for the favors received; which in proceſs of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemais*, as *Stephanus* writes, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπωνύμων εὐεργετηθέντων βασιλέων, having been courteouſly entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being ſo, let us take heed that *Livy* deceive us not, who at the time when *Attalus* did ſuccour the *Athenians* againſt *Philip*, ſayes, They firſt thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thankſgiving that the *Rhodii* reſcued four fighting Ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and ſent them home, [a] *Tum primum mentio illata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda.* Thus have we ſeen that there were twelve Tribes in all: Let us look back to the firſt inſtitution. I ſuppoſe they were firſt ordained for the better adminiſtration of Civil Government. [b] *Euſtathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the year. The four Tribes according to the four quarters; each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call φρατρίας or τριττύας, anſwerable to the twelve Moneths, each φρατρία or φυλὴ, into thirty γένη or kindreds, equaliſing the days. For ſo many onely had the year of old. Witneſs the Riddle of [c] *Cleobulus* concerning the year.

Εἷς ὁ πατὴρ, παῖδες δὲ δυώδεκα· τῶν δὲ ἑκάστῳ
Παῖδες τριήκοντα διάνδιχα εἶδος ἔχουσαι.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over theſe were Governors, φυλοβασιλεῖς, Kings of the Tribes, who ſat upon Controverſies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertain alſo had his overſeer called, τριττύαρχος the Ruler of the *Tricys* or *Phratria*. The word may ſeem to ſignifie a Society, Fellowſhip, or Com-

* *Theſe are reckoned among the Eponymos in Pauſ. p. 5. who had ſtatues likewiſe.*

[a] Decad. 4. l. 1. p. 6.

[b] In Il. b. pag. 181.

[c] Laertius, p. 63. l. 1.

Company. It skills not whether you derive it from φρατρία, *Euſtath*, or πατριά, as *Suidas*, or φρέαρ, as others, which is a Well, because they drew Water from the ſame Well. For the place being ſcanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there being but one well-ſpring in *Athens*, they were conſtrained to uſe φρέασι ποιητοῖς, digged Wells, as d *Plutarch*. d In Solone p. 65. l. 33. Φρήτορες are the men of that ſociety, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, of the ſame Ward, ſpeaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his ſervants ſhould afford what they had, if any *Laciades* ſhould come into his Farm. In deſcription of which thing *Plutarch* uſes δημόταις, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as συγγενεῖς and ὁμοφύλους) but *popularis*. Theſe at Feſtival days in *Athens* met in a place called *Phratrion*, as a *Euſtathius* obſerves, & b *Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engroſſed in their Books, as ſhall be hereafter ſpoken, with the reaſons thereof) φρατρίζειν, *Phratrizein*, from hence comes, which is τὸ εἰς φρατρίαν συνιέναι, to meet, for ſo *Euſtathius* in another place, εἰς ταυτὸ συνιέναι. As for the γένη, or kindreds, we muſt not think that they were of one blood, but of that near conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society. Γένη μὲν (every Γένος or kindred conſiſting of thirty, whence they were named τριακάδες) οὐ προσήκοντες, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συνόδου οὕτω προσαγορευθέντες. Not of affinity ſo called, but for their Synod; which the Grammarians call σύνθεμα κοινωνικόν, a Communicative familiarity, κοινωνία, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal ſhare in the ſame Priviledges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feaſts to be provided, wherein they ſhould kindely entertain each other, δεῖπνα φυλετικά, and φρατρικά b *Athenæus*. Τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προνοοῦντες οἱ νομοθέται τά φυλετικά δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν ἔτι δὲ τοὺς θιάσους καὶ τὰ φρατρικὰ &c. Of Feaſts celebrated at this day the Law-makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular.

a Iliad. β. pag. 181. & Il. ι. pag. 629.

b Lib. 3. c. 4.

b Dipnoſoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.

Moreover *Thiasoi* for Colledges (as Philoſophers for the death of their Grand Maſters) and *Phratrica* for the ſame Ward. Hence Ἑστιάζειν τὴν φυλὴν, and ἑστιάζειν τοὺς φράτορας. Of which in due time. The reaſon of this the *Dipnoſophiſt* gives, ſaying, That Wine hath ἑλκυστικὸν τὸ πρὸς φιλίαν, an attractive and perſwading force to procure love and friendſhip.

CAP. VI.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος *quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere* δήμους. *Quot? Templa & ſacra pagatim.*

All *Greece* was inhabited κατὰ κώμας, as [c] *Thucydides* ſpeaks by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word Comœdy. [d] *At verò nondum coactis in urbem Athenienſibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id eſt*, Paſtorum *vicinorumque præſidi Deo, conſtructis aris in honorem divinæ rei circum Atticæ vicos, villas, & compita feſtum carmen ſolemniter cantarent: orta eſt Comœdia* ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, *quod eſt, commeſſatum ire cantantes.* The *Athenians* being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they ſung ſacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the Preſident of the Sheepheards and Neighbors, about the Villages, Houſes, and croſs ways of *Attica*. Altars being built in honor of the celebrity, ſprung up a Comœdy, ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν καὶ ᾄδειν, from revelling and ſinging. Others will have it derived from an ancient cuſtom they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the Street, where the Offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, [a] Ὦ δεῖνα ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττει, θεῶν ὄντων, καὶ νόμων. *Such a one doth wrong, and commits ſuch and ſuch Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws*, by which theſe abuſes were reformed. But the *Anonymus*, in a Preface to *Ariſtophanes*, ſayes, μὴ κώμας προσαγορευθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ δήμους, that they were not called κώμας, or Villages by the *Athenians*, but δήμους, which they tranſlate

[c] Lib. 1.

[d] Donat. in Præf. in Ter.

[a] Thomas Magiſter.

ſlate *Populos*, better in my minde, *oppida* or Towns. *Cicero ad*[b] *Atticum. Venio ad Peraea in quo magis reprehendendus ſum, quod homo Romanus Piraea ſcripſerim non Piraeum (ſic enim omnes noſtri locuti ſunt) quàm quod M addiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præpoſui, ſed ut de loco: & tamen Dionyſius noſter, qui eſt nobiſcum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum eſſe Piraea, ſed de eo videro. Noſtrum quidem ſi eſt peccatum, in eo eſt, quod non ut de oppido locutus ſum, ſed ut de loco: ſecutuſque ſum non dico Cæcilium, Mane ut ex portu in Piræeum (malis enim auctor Latinitatis eſt) ſed Terentium cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam ſermonis putabantur à Caio Lælio ſcribi.* Heri aliquot adoleſcentuli coimus in Piræeum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captam de Sunio. *Quod ſi δήμους oppida volumus eſſe, tam eſt oppidum* Sunium *quam* Piræeus. If so be we will have δήμους to be Towns, *Sunium* as well as *Piræeus* is a Town. These were formerly Kingdoms, as [c] *Pauſanias* teſtifies. Γέγραπται δέ δή μοι, τῶν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις κατὰ πόλεις, ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασίλευον πρὸ τῆς Κέκροπος. Moreover, *I* have written, that ſome of the Towns were governed by a King before the raign of *Cecrops*. And no marvel, for ſome of them far ſurpaſſed other Cities, as *Ariſtides* affirmeth. Theſe were moſt peculiar to the *Athenians*, anciently called ναυκλάριαι, as [e] *Ariſtoph. Schol.* or Ναυκραρίαι, as [f] *Pollux*, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But *Cliſthenes* changed them into δήμους as out of *Ariſtotle* the *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* The number of them is, as [g] *Euſtathius* out of *Strabo* and [h] *Caſaubon*, an hundred ſeventy four. Some whereof having the ſame name are diſtinguiſhed according to their ſituations, καθύπερθεν and ὑπένερθεν, as we may ſay the upper and the lower *Wakefield*, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Leſſer. The [i] μείονες or leſs are theſe, *Alimuſii, Zoſter, Proſpaltii, Anagyraſii, Cephale, Praſieis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinuſii, Athmoneis, Acharnæ, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus.* The reſt were greater. Take them promiſcuous according to their Tribes.

[b] Lib. 7. Ep. 3.

[c] Atticis p. 30. l. 42.

[d] in Panath. T.1.p. 326.

[e] Nub. pag. 225. c.

[f] L.8. p. 430.

[g] in Il.b. pag. 215.

[h] in Athenæum l.6.c. 9.

[i] Pauſan. Att. pag. 30.

ΚΕΚΟΠΙΣ.

Αἰξωνή. Δαιδαλίδαι· Ἐπικείδαι. Ξυπέτη. Πίθος: Συπαλήττος. Τρινεμεῖς. Ἀθμονον ἢ Ἀθμονία. Ἁλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες. Φλύα. *Æxone. Dadalida, Epiecida, Xypete*, Pithus,*Sypalettus*,*Trinemei*, Athmonon or Athmonia. *Ala Æxonides*.Phlya.

ΕΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Ἀγραυλὴ ἢ Ἀγρυλή. Εὐωνυμία ἢ Εὐώνυμος. Θήμακοι ἢ Θήμακος, Κηφισία. Λαμπρά. Καθύπερθεν. Λαμπρὰ ὑπένερθεν ἢ παράλιος. Παμβωτάδαι. Περγασή. Συβρίδαι. Φηγοῦς. Ἀναγυροῦς. *Agraule* or Agryle. *Euonymia* or *Euonymus*. *Themaci* or *Themacus*. *Cephisia*.The upper *Lampra*. The lower *Lampray*,in which *Sigonius* erres calling one the maritimate, the other the inferior, which to be one and the ſame I have ſhewen above. *Pambotade*.Pergaſe. *Sybrida*,Phegus,Anagyrus.

Πανδιονὶς.

Ἀγγελή. Κυδαθηναίων. Κύθηρον. Οἆ ἢ Οἶης. Παιανία καθύπερθεν. Παιανία ὑπένερθεν. Προβάλινθος. Στειριά. Φηγαία. Μυῤῥινοῦς. Angele, *Cydathenæum*. *Cytharum*. *Oa* or *Oeis*, the upper Peania, the under Peania. Probalinthus, *Stiria*. Phegea. *Myrrhinus*.

Αἰγηίς.

Ἁλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες. Ἀραφήν. Βατή. Γαργηττός. Διομεία. Ἐρεχθία. Ἐρίκρια. Ἐχρία. Ἰκαρία ἢ Ἰκάριος. Κολυττός. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλωθειά. Τίθρας. Φηγαία. Φιλαΐδαι. Χολλίδαι. Ala Araphenides. Araphen. *Bate*. *Gargettus*. *Dionea*. *Erecthia*. *Ericria*. *Echria*. *Ichria* or *Icarius*. *Ionida*. *Colyttus*. *Cydantida*. Plothea. *Tithras*.Phegaa. Philade.Chollida.

Ἀκαμαντὶς.

Ἀγνοῦς. Ἐρισίδαι. Ἑρμὸς ἢ Ἑρμοί, Ἡφαιστιάδαι. Θορικός. Ἰτέα. Κίκυννα. Σφηττός. Χόλαργος Χόλαργοι Χολαργία. Κεφαλή. Προσπάλτα. *Agnus*.Eriſida. *Hermus* or *Hermi*. *Hepheſtiada*. *Thoricus*.*Itea*. *Cicyana*.*Sphettus*. *Cholargus Cholargi Cholargia Cephale*. Proſpalta.

Λεοντὶς.

Αἰθαλίδαι. Αἰθαλία. Ἀφίδνα. Δειράδες. Ἑκάλη. Εὐπυρίδαι. Κηττοί.

D Κρωπία.

Κρωπία. Λευκόνιος. Ὄιον Κεραμ. Παιονίδαι. Πήληκες. Ποταμός. Σκαμβωνίδαι. Σούνιον. Ὕβα Ὑβάδαι. Φρέαρροι. Μαραθῶν. Ἁλιμοῦς. *Æthalida Æthalia. Aphidna. Dirades. Hecale. Sypyrada. Cetti. Cropia. Leuconium. Oeum. Ceramicum. Paeonide. Pelaces. Potamus. Scambonida. Sunium. Hyba Hybade. Phrearri. Marathon. Alimus.*

Ιπποθοωντίς.

Ἀζηνιά. Ἀμαξαντεία. Ἀνάκαια. Ἀχερδοῦς. Δεκέλεια. Ἐλαιοῦς Ἐλαιοῦς. Ἐλευσίς. Ἐροιάδαι. Θυμοιτάδαι. Κειριάδαι. Κορυδαλλός. Ὄιον Δεκελ. Ὄιον Ἐλ.θ. Σφενδάλη. *Azenia. Amaxantea. Anacaa. Achardus. Decelia. Eleaus. Eleusis. Araade. Thymetada. Cariada. Corydallus. Oecum Decelicum. Oeum* ad *Eleutheras. Sphendale.*

Αντιοχίς.

Αἰγιλία ἢ Αἰγιλός. Ἀλωπεκὴ ἢ Ἀλωπεκαί. Ἀμφιτροπή. Ἀνάφλυστος. Ἀτήνη Ἀτηνία. Βῆσσα. Θορα. Κριῶα. Λευκοπύρα. Μελαινεῖς ἢ Μέλαιναι. Παλλήνη. Πεντέλη. Σημαχίδαι. Φάληρον. *Ægilia* or *Ægilus. Alopece* or *Alopeca. Amphitrope. Anaphlystus. Atene* or *Atenia. Bessa. Thora. Crioa. Leucopyra. Melenais* or *Melana. Pallene. Pentele. Samachide. Phalerum.*

Αἰαντίς.

Οἰνόη Μαραθ. Τιτακίδαι. Τρικόρυθος. Ῥαμνοῦς. *Oenoe* at *Marathon. Titacide. Trichorithus. Rhamnus.* Of this tribe were ſome towns taken away & put to other, *Aphydna, Perſida, &c.*

Οἰνηΐς.

Βούτεια, Βουτάδαι. Ἐπικηφισία. Θρία ἢ Θρίν. Ἱπποτομάδαι. Λακία, Λακιάδαι. Λουσία. Μελίτη. Οη ἢ Οα. Περιθοίδαι. Πτελέα. Φυλή. Ἀχαρνα. Τυρμίδαι. *Butea, Rutada. Epicephiſia. Thria* or *Thrio. Hippotomade. Lacia, Laciade. Luſia. Melite. Oe* or *Æa. Perithada. Ptelea. Phyle. Acharna. Tyrmida.*

Πτολεμαΐς.

Βερενικίδαι. Θυργωνίδαι. *Berenicida. Thyrgonide.* Κονθύλη. *Conthyle.*

Ατταλίς.

Ἀπολλωνιεῖς. *Apollonienſes.* Theſe are all which authors make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are, which I know not how to diſtribute, none of the ancients either directing or furniſhing me. But theſe are they. *Agra. Anchesmus. Amphiade. Archilia. Aſtypalea. Atalanta. Achradus. Belbina. Brauron. Brileſſus. Enna. Echelidæ. Zoſter. Thrion. Calæ. Cedæ. Cothocidæ. Cocle. Cynoſarges. Ceramicus* without the city the ſame with *Academia. Laurium. Lenæum. Limnæ. Munychia. Parnes. Pnyx. Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Seirum. Sporgilus. Hydruſa. Hymettus. Hyſiæ. Phaura. Phormiſii. Phrittii. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus.* To which are put the Ilands, called *Pharmacuſæ,* two in number, and *Pſyttalia.* The Scholiaſt of [a] *Ariſtophanes* ſpeakes as if *Io* were a *Demus,* but I ſay not with him. The greateſt uſe we have of theſe among authors, is in their forme of Law, marters of contracts, and the like, that their might be no fraud or deceite; that none either unjuſtly be taxed for any thing, or tax another? Hence read we ſuch punctuall clauſes in their writs. N. the ſon of N. dwelling at *Alopeca,* ἐκ Κοίλης, ἐκ Μελίτης. ἐκ Κεραμέων. of *Cale,* of *Melite,* of *Cerameis.* In theſe villages were Temples of the Gods. [b] *Livie. Templa pagatim ſacrata.* And againe. *Delubra ſibi fuiſſe, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis caſtellis viiſque conſecrata. ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores ſui deſerta relinquerent.* So much witneſſeth [c] *Pauſanias;* who tels us that they worſhiped ſome peculiar Deity, and yet neverthelеſſe did τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἄγειν ἐς τιμὴν, honour *Minerva.* Some of them had peculiar feſtivalls, as *Brauron* the ſolemnities *Brauronaa,* to *Diana Diomea,* to *Jupeter Diomæus, Chitonea &c.*

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[a] In Ranis p. 235.

[b] Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12. 13.

[c] In Atticis p. 77. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννίς. Ὀλιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. *Athenienſium ſtatus mutatio.*
Ἱερεὺς Σατράπαι Μέγας. Δούξ.

THe ancients had but three ſorts of government. *Tyrannis, Democratia, Oligarchia,* as [d] *Æſchines,* which *Polybius* cals βασιλείαν, ἀριστοκρατείαν, δημοκρατείαν. where although the one names it à *Tyrannis* or Tyranny, the other βασιλεία, the rule of a King, yet muſt we underſtand the ſame. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath obſerved. A word taken up by the *Gracians* about the time of *Archilochus,* which neither *Homer,* nor *Heſiod* knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἴδιόν τι ποιοῦντες, for calling the Kings, or βασιλεῖς before the *Trojan* wars, Tyrants or Tyrannos. Βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obeiſance is free, yeelded rather out of a good advice, then for fear or might. Ἀριστοκρατεία an Ariſtocratie, when moſt wiſe and juſt men are fitly choſen to ſit at the Helme of the Weale-publike. Δημοκρατεία a Democracie, when the Lawes and cuſtomes of the Country in matters belonging both to Gods and men are truly obſerved, and that rules the roſt, which ſhall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δόξαν τοῖς πλείοσι ſaies *Polybius*; as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth reliſh well with the moſt. But the grave hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch government, as they uſe to be, inclining to the worſt Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies, as when the people are led away by the perſwaſions of ſome pleaſing [a] popular man, and are as it were, willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhal lay on them; a Tyrant indeed ſaid, [b] *Vi conſecutus,* who gets it by violence, [c] *Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate*

[d] In Cteſiphontem p. 4.

[a] Ariſtot. l. pol. l. 5. c. 4.

[b] Probus in Miltiade.

[c] Probus ibid. p. 17.

bertate uſa eſt. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which cauſing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Ariſtocratie*, or goverment of the beſt men, ſuch as are well brought up and exerciſed in vertue. The end of an *Ariſtocratie* being, as [b] *Ariſtotle* hath it, *Vertue*, which of no long continuance doth ſoon degenerate, [c] εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν πεφυκέναι κατὰ φύσιν, naturally enclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. Theſe few being choſen according to their riches. And becauſe that many in a ſtate cannot be wealthie, therefore the number of them cannot be great. Theſe are great Lords and little Kings, whoſe power ſwaies all, and not the Lawes, who unjuſtly favour thoſe that are partially theirs, and oppreſſe them that would defend their liberty againſt them. All things being adminiſtred [f] τοῖς τρόποις τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, by their preſidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people ſet on a rage, not bearing τὰς τῶν προεστώτων ἀδικίας, the injuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει λέγειν, the power of a multitude, whoſe end is freedome; when all can equally partake of the ſame priviledges and immunities, who are true citizens: whence *Terence* ſtiles it *æquam libertatem*, for which the *Greek Oratours* have properly uſed the word πολιτεία, as [g] *Ulpian* obſerveth. But the vulgar for the moſt part ſtrangely inſolent, prone to wrong, and ready to treſpaſſe againſt the Lawes, bring in by a miſerable proceeding, the worſt kind of government an *Ochlocratie*, the rule of Raſcalitie. All theſe in their times did *Athens* feele, for they were governed by Kings foure hundred eightie ſeaven yeares: the laſt of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorienſes* and *Athenians* offered himſelfe willingly to be ſlaine, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorienſes* ſhould be conquerours unleſſe the *Athenian* King were killed; he therefore cloathing himſelfe *famulari veſte ne poſſet agnoſci*, ſaies [a] *Cicero*, with a ſervants habit leaſt he ſhould be

[d] Pol. l. 4. c. 9

[e] Polyb. l. 6.

[f] Æſchines in Cteſ.

[g] In Demoſt. p. 59.

[a] Tuſc. Q. l. 1.

known, put himſelfe among the enemies, by one of which in a brawle he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King,[b] *quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum eſt*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled; in the Title ἄρχοντες, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whoſe authority was for tearm of life. Theſe continued three hundred and fifteen yeares. Theſe being ended, it pleaſed the State to chooſe a man, whoſe office ſhould continue but tenne yeares; ſeaven ſucceeded each other, and made up the number of ſeaventy yeares; who, becauſe they abuſed their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore [c] *annui Magiſtratus*, yearely Magiſtrates. Theſe continued untill *Piſiſtratus* for a fained fear of the ſeditious, begged a guard of the people for his ſafetie. For when the faction ſprung up, of which I have ſpoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himſelfe with laſhes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν, and beſeeching the people to afford him ſome defence againſt their violence, who did (but did not) aſſault him, procured a company of choſen Citizens who armed with clubs, not weapons, poſſeſſed the Caſtle, and ſo Tyranny came in, which *Piſiſtratus* enjoyed [d] thirty yeares, and deceaſed, leaving behind him two ſonnes, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Theſſalus*. *Hipparchus* was ſlaine by *Ariſtogiton*, after whoſe death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny foure yeares, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacedemonians*, the offspring of *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whenſoever they came for counſell he ſhould wiſh them to free the *Athenians* of that ſervitude. The *Democratie* came in eight hundred ſixtie eight yeares after *Cecrops*, eſtabliſhed by *Solon*, who excluded the fift rank of plebeity from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Ariſtides*. After this *Pericles* brought in an *Ochlocratie* by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sici-*

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[b] Juſtin. l. 2.

[c] Juſtin. l. 2.

[d] Heraclides in Pol.

[e] Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

ly the Τετρακόσιοι or foure hundred took upon them ſtate deceaving the people, as f Ariſtotle and g Thucidides affirme. For perſwading them that they ſhould reconcile Tiſſaphernes and Alcibiades unto themſelves by that meanes, and that the Perſian Monarch would afford ſupply for the war, they moſt willingly condeſcended to this motion in the one and twentie yeare of the Peloponneſian war. Theſe princes were called a πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι ὄντες, Five thouſand, though not exceeding foure hundred. The reaſon is, becauſe they boaſted that none ſhould be rewarded, but who bare armes; nor any admitted to publique power but five thouſand, ſuch as with perſon and eſtate could be beneficiall to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an b Act of the people, to which Theramenes was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive out; whereupon they termed him κόθορνον Cothurnum, from a kind of ſtart-up which c did fit both feet, καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος, ἁρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ. The word may ſute with a Iack of both ſides. Theſe Τετρακόσιοι were conſtrained for feare of d Alcibiades to reſigne the right unto the people, and to goe into wilfull baniſhment. But when Lyſander had overcome Athens (the e Lacedemonians ever affecting an Oligarchie, as the Athenians a Democratie) he ordained theſe thirty to be chieſe. f Polyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hieron, Mneſilochus, Chremo, Theramenes, Areſias, Diocles, Phædrias, Charilees, Anætius, Piſo, Sophocles, Eratoſthenes, Charicles, Onomochles, Theognis, Æſchines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Eraſiſtratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Ariſtoteles, Hippomachus, Mneſithides. Theſe began at firſt to put to death the worſt and moſt abhorred, ſaies g Saluſt, without triall of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; h ſome for envy, others for riches. Theſe to make their partie firme choſe about three thouſand to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, diſarming all the reſt, to the end they might eaſily command their lives. But by their lawes (for they made

ſome

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f Pol.l.c.57.
g Lib.8.
a Plat. in Alcyb.p.148.
b Xen.Ελλ.β. 274.l.38.
c Xen.p.275.
d Juſtin.l.5.
e Ariſt. Pol.l.5 c.7.
f Xen Ελλ.β.p. 270.
g In Catil. Conſp.
h Xen.p.272.

ſome, ſtiled [i] κατὰ νόμοι, which were nullified by a decree, as we ſhall ſpeak hereafter) none was to ſuffer ἄνευ καταλόγυ, who was regiſtred in the liſt of three thouſand. So cruel were they, that the people fled into [k] *Phyle* a caſtle in the *Athenian* borders; and making an head under the conduct of *Thraſybulus*, at laſt ſhook off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander* even fourescore yeares, whom *Antipater* ſucceeded; who in battle at the Citie *Lamia* gave the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave them quarters on theſe termes that they ſhould ſubmit to a few *Peeres*, whoſe revenues amounted to two thouſand *Drachm'es* at leaſt, the chief of whom was *Demetrius* Phalereus; that they ſhould likewiſe receive a garriſon into *Munychia* for the aſſwaging of riots and uproares. But foure yeares after, *Antipater dying*, the Citie fell into the power of *Caſſander*, of whom they often ſtrove to acquit themſelves. But in vaine. For he brought them to ſuch an exigencie, that they were glad to come to compoſition. And indeed he dealt fairely with them, giving them their Citie, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, ſo that they would be confederates to him, that none, whoſe revenues come not to tenne *minæ* or pounds, ſhould undergoe any function in the Common-weale; and he ſhould be their overſeer whom he would be pleaſed to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalareus*, [a] who made the Citie to ſhine in her full luſtre, inſomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred Statues. He wrote a Treatiſe of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no ſmall light to my poore endeavours. After he in trouble and vexation had ſpent foureteen years, he was put out by *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus*, ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, who reſtored the ancient cuſtomes to them againe. To him they aſcribed ſuch worſhip, as alſo to his father, that they changed the name of their *Judge* from *Archon* into [b] Σωτήρων ἱερεύς. The Prieſt of the Gods that ſaved them, calling the yeare after his name, and adding [b] two Tribes to

the

[i] Xen.p.375.

[k] Dem.p.467.

[a] Vide Laert. in vita, & Strabonem.

[b] Plut in Demetrio.

[c] Pollux.l.8.

the Tenne, whence the Senate conſiſted of ſix hundred, but five before, as [c] *Stephanus*. But when *Caſſander* had overthrowne the ſonne and father, ſuch was the ingratitude and levitie of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach nere their City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius* whom they utterly caſt off, aſſuming againe the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatas* ſucceeded, who in the nineteenth year of his reigne put in preſidiarie ſouldiers to the Citie, which tenne yeares after he took out. The *Macedonians* ſtill kept ſome of the *Athenians* forces in this ſpace. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* & *Antigonus Doſon*, out of whoſe hands [d] *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* reſcued the Citie, and made it ſtand by it ſelfe untill *Philip*, the laſt king of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did ſomewhat ſhake it, as you may read in [e] *Livie*. But he was expelled by the Romans, who took the *Athenians* into league, with a maintaining of their ancient right. So they remained untill the warre between *Methridates* and the *Romans*. For by feare they were driven to receave [f] *Archestratus*, *Methridates* his Generall, within their walls; againſt which *Sylla* laid ſiege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded ἀνηλεὴς σφαγὴ, a mercileſſe ſlaughter, ſaies *Appian*, that the [g] ſtreets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by this Conquerour, and therefore they lived in a neere reſemblance of their former ſtate; in favour with the *Roman* Emperours; *Julius Cæſar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*, in whoſe ſucceſſours time, *Claudius*, the ſecond of that name, this City was ranſacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of bookes to burne, were dehorted by this reaſon, [a] *that the Greekes, ſpending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for war*. *Conſtantine* the *Great* likewiſe had this City in high eſteeme, taking to himſelfe the Title of Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηνῶν, as [b] *Julian* ſaies, which in the words of *Nicephoras Gregoras* is [c] τὸ τοῦ μεγάλου δουκὸς (ἀξίωμα) the *Grand Duke*, whom ſimply af-

E terwards

[c] In Berenice.

[d] Plut. in vita.

[e] Decad. 4. l. 1.

[f] Vide Appianum Alex. in *Methridatico* circa pag. 122. 123. &c.

[g] Plut. in vita p. 335.

[a] Cedrenus Baptiſta Egnatius. Rom. Prin. l. 1.

[b] In Oratione Conſtantium.

[c] Hiſt. Rom. l. 7. p. 166.

wards they called the [d] *Duke of Athens*. In that Hiſtorian time. Emperours have taken them wives, citizens of the place, and the [e] daughters of their Dukes have been deſired by that eminent ranke. And indeed no marvell. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus* is ſaid to have taken the Citie from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, οἳ χῶρον τȣ ἡ ς ταύτην ἢ Ἴβηρες who having no iſſue male of his wiſe *Eubois*, but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the **Venetians*, from whom his ſonne recovered it againe. *Nerius* ſucceded him in the Dukedome who thruſt out *Chalcocondylas* his father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we muſt know that *Mahomet* the ſonne of *Amurat* the ſecond got *Athens*, [g] whoſe beauty and building he held in admiration; which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For another *Nerius* from thoſe above named dying, leaving one ſonne an infant, his mother in the childs Title exerciſed Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (ſonne to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whoſe government the Citie *Nauplium* was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas*, *Priamus*) who came thither for merchandize Him by diſcourſe and flattery ſhe entiſed into her love, promiſing that ſhe would take him to her husband, and give up the Princedome of *Athens* unto him But upon condition, that he would divorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* ſlew his wife, ſwelling with ambition, and thirſty of honour. Which being done, he returnes to *Athens*, marries this woman enjoies the government of the Citie, who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himſelfe the *Childes* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus* waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore underſtood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being enſtalled, im-

prisoned

[d] Hiſt. Rom. l.7.p.167.

[e] Nic. Greg. lib. citat.

[f] Calcochon. κελτίβηρες ἀπὸ Ναβάρης.

**In the time of* Pietro Zani *came ambaſſadors from* Athens *to doe homage to the* Venetian Senate. M. Leukenor *in hiſtory and lives of the Venetian Princes*.

[g] Chalcocon. l.9.p.199.

priſoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by meanes not knowne to the [a] Author) ſlew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Zagan* governour of *Peloponneſus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the Citie to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the laſt Duke.

[a] Chalcocon. p. 300.

E 2 LIB.

LIBER SECVNDVS.

CAP. I.

Duodecim Dii Athenienſium Idololatria ſeptiſariam commiſſa. Dii Adſcriptitii. Θεὸς Ἄγνωστος.

a Pag.48.

b In Tractu περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. p.669.

HErodotus in [a] *Terpſichore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their religion from the *Ægyptians*. But [b] *Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimonie may I affirme that it ſeems to bee a falſitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the myſteries of piety into *Greece*; who was himſelfe a *Thracian*, from whom the word [c] θρησκεία is ſuppoſed to be drawn, which ſignifies devotion. Τινὲς δὲ τὸ τιμᾷν θεὸν ἀνέκαθεν θρησκεύειν, ὡς Θρᾳκίας οὔσης εὑρέσεως, ſaies [d] *Nonnus*. They called θρησκεύειν, to worſhip God, &c. Appoſitely to which [e] *Ariſtophanes* ἐν Βατράχοις.

c Sch.Eurip. in Alceſt. pag. 661.

d Συναγ, ἱστ. in Stel. 1.

e Pag.260.

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ᾽ ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ᾽ ἀπέχεσθαι.

Orpheus ſhewed us ſacrifices, and to abſtaine from ſlaughter. Nether is [f] *Euripides* diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

f p.281.

Μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανάς.

Ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεὺς—— *Orpheus revealed the hidden myſteries.* *Herodotus* names not the Gods, the worſhip of Whom the *Greeks* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelve in number they were, quoth he, but theſe onely are reckoned. *Jupiter. Bacchus. Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Iſis* or *Ceres. Sais* or *Minerva. Latona.* as I have gathered, which all at once to have been made known to the *Greeks*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is too hard a task for me to prove. The *Athenians* I am ſure had twelve Gods in eſpeciall honour, whoſe g pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called h Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* warre, a man diſmembred himſelfe with a ſtone; which was accounted prodigious. By thoſe twelve would they ſwear in common diſcourſe. i Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The heathens thinking that they did honour thoſe Gods by whom they ſwear; as I have elſewhere ſpoken. But they were not confined to ſo ſmall a number as twelve. For how could it be, when they ran through the ſeaven ſorts of Idolatrie? Firſt worſhipping the Sunne, & puniſhing with death the neglect thereof; as you may read in j *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, deifying the effects of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets Δηὼ, *Ceres*, τὸν σῖτον, corne or food. Thirdly, the poeticall Gods. *Furies, and revengers of wickedneſſe*, as *Alaſtores, Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Paſſions, as *Love, Pittie. Injurie* likewiſe and *Impudence*; to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fiftly the accidents of grouth and nouriſhment. hence *Auxo*, and *Thallo* two deities, αὐξάνειν, to increaſe, and θάλλειν to flouriſh; to which may be put *Clotho, Lacheſis*, and *Atropos*, the three fatall ſiſters, and Εἱμαρμένη, *Neceſſitie*, taken ſometime for death it ſelfe. 6ly, the Theogonie or pedigree of their Gods, able to make up the ſumme of which *Homer* ſpeaks. Τρὶς γὰρ μύριοι, &c. Three thouſand. Seaventhly, an ignorance of the providence and bountie of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, and *Eſculapius* the God of Phyſick. And if this ſerve not, I can adde an eighth way, namely hoſpitality and good entertainment of ſtrange Gods. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες διατελοῦσι, οὕτω

g Pauſ. Attic. p. 3. l. 8.

h Plut. in Nicia. p. 387. l. 26.

i Ariſtoph. Equ. p. 300. A.

k Vide Bodinum in Demonologia.

a Pag.471. ϗ περὶ τοὺς Θεούς. ſaies a *Strabo*, as the *Athenians love forrai-*
ners, ſo forraine Gods. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἄγει τῶν
b In Panath. T.1.p.188. Θεῶν,&c. b *Ariſtides.* For they ſerve not onely the moſt an-
cient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers,
c Strab.p.587. but have aſſumed adventitious ones, ſuch as c *Orthane*, *Coniſ-*
ſalus, and *Tychon.* So prone were they to conceave ſuperſtiti-
d Act.Apoſt. c.17.v.18. on, that when d *Paul* preached *Jeſus and the reſurrection of the*
dead; they forthwith deemed *Anaſtaſin*, or reſurrection to be
a God. And leſt they ſhould omit any, they erected Altars
e In Attic. p.1. l.35. to the unknown Gods, of which e *Pauſanias.* Neither may
we doubt of it, the Scripture bearing witneſſe. The cauſe of
this they ſay to be a fearefull viſion appearing to *Philippides*,
ſent Ambaſſador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid againſt
f Vide Eurip. Sch. in Med.p. 482. the *Perſians*, and complaining that he (f *Pan*, from whom *πα-*
νικὸν à ſpectrum) was neglected, and other Gods worſhipped,
promiſing likewiſe his helpe, they therefore being victorious,
and fearing the like event, built a Temple, and Altar TO THE
UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague
being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no help from the
Gods they implored, ſurmiſing ſome other power to have
ſent the diſeaſe, whereupon they ſet up this Altar, on which
was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ἀσίας ϗ Εὐρώπης ϗ Λιβύης, Θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ ϗ
ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRI-
CA, TO THE VNKNOWN AND STRANGE GOD.
As *Juſtin* g *Martyr* and *Oecumenius.* Much may be ſaid
g Pag.137. of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and houſes,
much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in
order.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεύς. Νέμειος. Ἱκέσιος. Πολιεῦχος. Βουλαῖος. Φράτριος. Φίλιος. Ὁμόγνιος. καταιβάτης. Ἕρκειος. Ἀγοραῖος. Ξένιος. *Modii ſalis edendi, Teſſera hoſpitalis ſeu Symbolum. Apollo* Σωτήριος. πατρῷος. Ἀλεξίκακος. Θυραῖος. *Paean, & ejuſdem verbi origo. Mercurius* Παλιγκάπηλος. [illegible]. Στροφαῖος. Προπύλαιος.

A Above other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high eſteeme. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to diſſolve their Kingdomes, they were charged to make choice of *Jupiter*, [a] [illegible] τ Δία Βασιλέα. And ſo by [b] *Ariſtophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς. Him they worſhipped as *Preſident of Law and Juſtice*, under the name of *Jupiter* [c] *Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* named Νεμεῖος) Him as *God of ſupplicants*, hence [d] ἱκέσιος, Him as *Protector of Citties*, hence πολιοῦχος. Him as *Governour and director of their counſells*, hence Βουλαῖος. Him as *cheife of their Societies*, hence φράτριος, and of their friendſhip too, hence φίλιος; and of kindred likewiſe, hence ὁμόγνιος. To him they aſcribed *Thunder*, hence [e] Ζεὺς καταιβάτης, as much as comming downe in thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Perſians*, wrought by *Themiſtocles*, hence [f] ἐλευθέριος. Him they confeſſed the *greateſt of all*, hence [g] ὕπατος. Him *the overſeer of their buying and ſelling*, hence * Ἀγοραῖος. To him ſtood an Altar ſacred in the *courts of their houſes*, hence *Jupiter Herceus*, from Ἕρκος a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the houſe. *Phavorinus*. Ἑρκείου Διὸς βωμὸς [illegible] αὐτῇ τῇ αὐλῇ, αὔλειος [illegible] ἐν τῷ ἔσω Διὸς ἱδρυμ τοῦ ἑρκείου. There was alſo an Altar to him before the gates, of which [h] *Ovid*. -- *Ante ædes ſtabat Jovis Hoſpitis ara*, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of ſtrangers and hoſpitality*. So ſolemne were they in their entertainements, that

[a] Sch. Ariſtop. p. 122.

[b] in Nubibus

[c] Dem. in Mid. p. 251.

[d] Vlpian in Dem. p. 273. Pauſ. p. 181. 40. *Who thinks* Sylla *to be eaten with lice by a judgment, that ſlew* Ariſtion *ſuppliantly flying to the Temple of* Minerva.

[e] Ariſtoph. Avib. p. 626.

[f] Plut. & Pauſ.

[g] Pauſan.

[*] Ariſtoph. p. 317.

[h] Metamorph.

that they would not receive a ſtranger without great ceremonies, ſuch as giving of the right hand each to other [i] ἐπισυνί-ας δεξιώσιν, a moſt certaine ſigne of fidelity, and ſecurity; as alſo waſhing and cleanſing with ſalt, or ſalt water, as [k] *Tzetzes* on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ἁγνίτην πάγον. Salt they highly eſteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hoſpitality with [l] ποῦ ἅλες, &c. where is the ſalt? And yet it may be thought to be ſaid of the community of the table [m] ἐσθίειν τῶν ἁλῶν τὸν μὴ χαλκωρυχεῖν τοὺς ὁμοτραπέζους ἢ συσσίτους, cuſtomes ſhewing that fellow commoners, and ſuch as feed of the ſame table muſt not injure one another, to which the old ſaying may well agree, [n] *multos modios ſalis ſimul edendos eſſe, ut amicitiæ munus expletum ſit*, Men muſt eat many buſhels of ſalt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendſhip is not to be ſoone eſtabliſhed. But I take ſalt, of the luſtration, to which alſo they added fire, as you may ſee in [o] *Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this all, for they ſacrificed moreover, calling *Jupiter* to witneſſe, and uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice. [p] ἐς Δία ξένιον ἁμαρτεῖν, εἰ ἀτιμῶ ξένους. *Let my treſpaſſe be againſt Jupiter Xenius, if I offend, contemne, or neglect ſtrangers*. And for the continuation of this even to their poſterity they were wont to cut an huckle bone in two, the one partie keeping one piece, the other party the other halfe, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, [q] οἱ κομίζοντες τὸ ἥμισυ ἀστραγάλιον, ἀνανεῶνται τὴν ξενίαν, *bringing with them their halfe hucklebone they might renew their hoſpitality*. This they call σύμβολον *Symbolum* a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalfe, as *Jaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to doe. Πέμπειν τε ξένοις σύμβολ' οἳ δράσουσί σ' εὖ. And to ſend a *Symbolum* or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertaine you. But of this enough, as alſo of *Jupiter*, whom celebrated in [a] other Epithites I know by the *Athenians*. *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Jupiter*, invocated in *danger or ſudden events*, hence [b] Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, to turn away, as if he

[i] Euſtath. in Il. δ.

[k] Pag. 27. *But* Euſtath *ſaies that they did ſet ſalt before any other meat to ſtrangers.*

[l] Demoſth. p. 241.

[m] Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28.

[n] Cic. de Amicitia. Euſtath. *ſaies that it betokens love permanent. For ſalt preſerves: And as it is made of many lettings in of water, ſo they who come from divers places by hoſpitality are made one.*

In ἱππ. p. 100.

[o] In Acharn. p. 414. vide Sch.

[p] Euſtath. in Il. λ.

[q] Eurip. Sch. p. 446.

[a] As πολιεὺς. Ariſtophan. ὀμβρίος. Pauſan. &c.

[b] Ariſtophan. πλ. p. 86.

he ſhould deliver them from eminent evill) for which reaſon he is called *Alexicacus*, c *Apollinem appellitant mala [illegible] gai, quem Athenienſes* Ἀλεξίκακον *appellant*. He was one of the firſt Gods they had, hence is he termed d πατρῷος, but e others think becauſe he was the father of *Ion*. f *Macrobius* is of opinion, becauſe the *Sun* the ſame with *Apollo* is the Author of progenerating all things, *quod ſol humoribus exſiccatis ad progenerandum omnibus præbuit cauſam*. To him wood Altars in their ſtreets, hence is he Ἀγυιεὺς, as if he were ſet over their waies g *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomæria ſunt*, ἀγυιὰς. This *Agyieus* was a ſharp pillar. h κίων ἐς ὀξὺ λήγων. Although the *Greeks*, as i *Macrobius* ſaies, did worſhip him as Θυραῖον, *exitus et introitus potentem*, one that kept the dores of their houſes, yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pauſanias*. Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which though I have taken occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere, yet this is a moſt proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial derivations of the *Greeks*, which you read in k *Athenæus*. When the *Athenians* asked help of the *Oracle* at *Delphos* againſt the *Amazons*, in the daies of *Theſeus*, The God bid them implore his ſuccour in theſe words Ἰὴ Παιὰν. l *Hanc vocem, id eſt*, Ἰὴ Παιὰν, *confirmaſſe fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienſibus, petentibus opem Dei adverſus Amazonas, Theſeo regnante. Namque inituros bellum juſſit his ipſis verbis ſemet ipſum auxiliatorem invocare, hortarique.* I doubt not but the words are changed ſomewhat, eſpecially if we conſider the ancient *Io Pæan*. *Pæan* ſaies the m *Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes* is a ſong or hymne praying for the ceaſing of a plague, or war, or for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of *Io* in *Scaliger* hath already found, *Jah*, do *Io* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Jehovah*, *Pæan* then comes from [illegible] to looke, ſo that *Io Pæan* is in force *Jehovah Pineh*. LORD LOOK UPON US, it being a craft of the Divell to come as neere as poſſibly he may to God, ſo to bereave him of his due honour, if he could. The remainder of theſe words the n [illegible]

F a

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c Macrob. Sat. 1. p. 253.

d Ariſtoph. Nub. p. 203.

e Ariſtop. Sch. p. 611. g.

f Saturn. 1. p. 257.

g Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 19.

h Schol. Eurip. Phœ. p. 322.

i Sat. 1. c. 9.

k In fin. lib. 14. Dip.

l Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 17. p. 253.

m In Plut. p. 68.

n [illegible]

o Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

a people of the Weſt Indies uſe, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and ſing *Ha Pelin*, as this day. *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of p Παλιγκάπηλος or Ἐμπολαῖος, deemed to be the God whoſe favour could enrich Merchants and Tradeſmen. He is the God of craft, ſo by conſequence he that is cunning to cheat may ſoon grow rich, whereſore this God is termed q Ἐριούνιος, *Very profitable*, from ἐρι, an augmenting word, and ὀνᾶν to profit. He had a ſtatue erected to him in the Market place called a Ἑρμῆς ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houſes was ſacred to him, from which he is named b Προπύλαιος, as likewiſe Στροφαῖος from στρέφειν, to turne, becauſe he was ſet up behind the doore to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villanie. More of his names you may read in c *Ariſtoph. Schol.*

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule, Æſculapio.

Saturne was worſhipped by the *Athenians*, witneſſe the feaſts kept in honour to him called Κρόνια, witneſſe a d Temple which he had in *Athens*. Of his antiquitie I cannot much affirme any thing. He ſeemes to have been of old, as I conjecture out of e Κρονικαὶ γνῶμαι, *Saturnine opinions*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewiſe had his honour there, and a Temple, of which f *Demoſthenes*: where was one of the *Athenian* priſons, ſome controverſies in law in it decided, as I gather out of g *Demoſthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of the Citie, which he loved even to ſtrife. He was feared for ſecuritie in navigation, hence h ἀσφάλειος. i *Mars* alſo had his worſhip, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a dreame appeared to *Sophocles*, revealing unto him the ſacriledge of one who had ſtolen a golden cup out of his Temple: called therefore Μηνυτής or *Index Hercules*, as k *Tully*

p Ariſtop. πλ. p. 110. Ach. p. 410.

q Ariſtop. βατρ. p. 266.

a Ariſtop. 304

b Pauſ. p. 20. l. 35.

c Pag. 110.

d Pauſ. p. 16. l. 32.

e Ariſtop. νεφ. p. 61.

f P. 536. n. 26.

g [illegible] Ἀφοβ.

h Ariſtop. p. 403.

i Pauſ. p. 7. l. 27.

k De divinatione. l. 1.

Neither were they contented with ſuch a quantity, but canoniſed more daily, as the ſonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἄνακας. ἀνακῶς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιμελουμένους ἢ φυλάσσοντας ὁτιοῦν· ϗ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἄνακτας διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. For they who have a care & watch of any thing do diligently obſerve it ἀνακῶς ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄνακτας, as keepers of their people. [m] The Scholiaſt of *Euripides* teaches us that ἄναξ properly ſignifieth a Saviour. So *Pan* is ſaid to be Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, *the Tutelar God of Cyllene*. And *Apollo* in [n] *Homer* Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις. The word is ſimply put for God in [o] *Ariſtophanes*, [p] πρὸς τῶν θεῶν Ἄνακτας ϗ Σωτῆρας καλῶν. To theſe may be put *Harmonius* and *Ariſtogiton*. *Lycus*. *Theſeus*. *Alon*. *Heſychus*. *Ariſtomachus* the Phiſitian. *Celeus* and *Metanira*. And many more (of whom ſee [q] *Meurſius*) made of Men, as *Silanion* and *Perrhaſius* that made the ſtatue of [r] *Theſeus*.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proſerpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone, Promethio, &c.

MInerva the eſpeciall deity of the *Athenians*, had the Feſtivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in [ſ] *Meurſius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, whoſe rites *longè maximis & occultiſſimis ceremoniis continentur*, [a] ſaies *Cicero*, were greateſt and moſt hidden: therefore calldd *myſteria* from [b] μύειν, to hide, [c] death and a curſe lying on him who ſhould diſcloſe thoſe abominable ſecrets. See *Meurſius* in his [d] *Eleuſinia*, of the initiation into theſe ſhews. They were of two ſorts. [e] Greater to *Ceres*, leſſe to *Proſerpina*. *Bacchus* alſo the ſon of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted and a double tide holy to him. *Dionyſia* [f] *parva* and [g] *Magna*. *Venus* had her honour and ſacrifice, in which they offered to her money the price of an whore. [i] *Eumenides* were firſt a-

[l] Plut. Theſ. p. 11. l. 25.

[m] In Hippol. p. 507.

[n] Iliad. α.

[o] In Avib. pag. 578.

[p] Eurip. Sch. p. 507.

[q] In Athen. Att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.

[r] Plut. in. Th. p. 2. l. 14.

[ſ] In Panath.

[a] In Panath.

[b] Nonnus ad Naz. ſtɩλ.

[c] Vide Plut. in Alcib.

[d] Cap. 7.

[e] Ariſtop. Sch. p. 85.

[f] Ariſt. p. 222.

[g] Idem. p. 223.

[h] Clem. Alex. p. 19.

[i] Vide Æſch. in Eumen. & Sch. Sophan. Oed. Col.

doned by *Oreſtes* after he eſcaped the *Judgment* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemneſtra*. These by [k] *Heſiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ θεαί, the venerable Goddeſſes. To theſe they offered drink offerings, without wine though at midnight, a cuſtome peculiar to them alone, as [m] *Æſchylus* witneſſeth, though I am not Ignorant that [n] *Bacchus* his feaſts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nictelius*. But the Tragœdian.

[o] ϗ̓ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπνα ἐπ' ἐσχάρᾳ πυρὸς
ἔθυον, ὥραν οὐδενὸς κοινὴν θεῶν.

Scholiaſt: ἐν γὰρ τῇ μεσονυκτίῳ μόναις θύουσιν ἀπήρχοντο. By [p] *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is ſet down. Firſt having cleane hands and pure, the worſhipper ought to draw out of a running fountaine water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed [q] νηφάλια μειλίγματα) the mouthes and eares of which are to be covered with the wool of a young ſheep, turning himſelfe towards the Eaſt, he powred out ſome of two of them, but the third wholly; then with both hands ſetting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he caſts his χοάς, he uttered out his conceived ſupplications. Other ſacrifices they had as ſhall be ſhortly ſpoken. [r] *Hecate* was worſhipped by them in *triviis*, where three wayes met, ſuppoſed to be the Moon in Heaven, *Diana* on earth, and *Hecate* below. [ſ] To her the richer ſort every new Moone made a feaſt in the croſſe waies ſetting bread and other proviſion, which the poore greedily fed on, and were ſo ravinous after, that [t] *Penia* in *Ariſtophanes*, complaines that they ſnacht it, before it could *be laid downe. Reference to this hath Ἑκαταῖα κατεσθίειν, to eat the cates of *Hecate*, in [u] *Demoſthenes*, which he ſeemes to object, as a ſordid or wicked thing. Indeed βωμολόχος, which ſignifies one that privily taketh away any of the ſacrifices from the altar, imports ſometimes *impious*, Βωμολόχος ἀσεβής. *Schol.* * *Ariſtoph.* And yet the ſame Scholiaſt tels us that the needy ſuſtained themſelves by the ſacrifices. [x] ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γὰρ οἱ πτωχοὶ ζῶσι. *Junoes* rites

were

[k] In Theogonia.
[l] Pauſ. p. 27. l. 3.
[m] In Eumen. p. 275.
[n] Ariſtop. p. 228.
[o] Loco citato.
[p] In Oedipo. Col. p. 271.
[q] Æſchylus loco præd.
[r] Vide Interp. Hor. in illud Diva triformis.
[ſ] Ariſtop. Sch. p. 63.
[t] Pag. 64.
[u] In Orat. πρὸς Κόνωνα. p. 693. n. 59.
[*] In Nubes. p. 176.
[x] In Plut. 63.

were performed in great pomp with hair over their ſhoulders and down the back, in a veſture that ſwept the ground; their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces ſo minced, that [a] Ἡραῖον βαδίζειν, *Junonium incedere*, is to go ſtately. *Prometheus* was worſhipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with linkes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the fire, which ſuperſtitiouſly they beleeved him to have ſtolne out of heaven. To ſay more of their Gods were needleſſe either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of a latter making, introducted by the [b] *Philippides*, and [*] Σφραγιτίδες Νύμφαι. *Sphragitides Nymphæ* after the *Perſian* overthrow.

[a] Vide Schottum in Proverb. Iſaac. Caulab. in Athen. l. 12, c. 5. p. 388.

[b] Cl. Alex. p. 22.

[*] Plut. Ariſt. p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ ἀνθήλιοι. Ἑρμαῖ. *Phacaſiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected ſtatues which they called [c] θεοὶ ἀνθήλιοι, becauſe they were expoſed to the Sunne. Neither had they theſe alone, but certaine others ſacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes Hermæ Mercuriales*. The faſhion of them was divers. For firſt they were not ἀνετεταμέναι, *porrecto veretro*, but made after to that forme by the *Athenians*, who received it from the *Pelaſgi*, as [d] *Herodotus*. Neither did they want legs, untill the *Athenians* made them ἀκώλους, according to [e] *Pauſanias*. The manner was this, *A face of Mercury ſet upon a pillar of four corners.* The head only and neck were ſhapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, [f] *Juvenal*,

Nil niſi Cecropides, truncóque ſimillimus Hermæ.
Nullo quippe alio vincis diſcrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput eſt, tua vivit imago.

For which reaſon likewiſe the *Greekes* name them [g] ἀγυιάς, without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certain verſes engraven, containing the praiſes of ſome well deſerving

[c] Vide Heſychium, & Dionyſium Petavium in Themiſtium.

[d] In Euterpe p. 48.

[e] In Atticis d. p. 2. l. 14.

[f] Sat. v. 852.

[g] Vide Ulpian. in Dem. p. 332. & G. Langbain in Notis ad Longinum. ἀεὶ ὑψοῦ.

men

men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of thoſe that had merited, ſeeme to me to have been ſet up in that gallery, which from the number of theſe images was commonly knowne by Ἑρμῶν Στοὰ the gallery of *Mercurials*. At the conſecration of theſe they uſed ſome ceremonies, and ſacrificed a kind of gruell, which was of no great preparation; becauſe they would not ſtand long about it. Hence χύτραις ἱδρύεσθαι may be ſaid to ſacrifice with that which coſts but little. h *Ariſtophanes*. Χύτραισιν, ὥσπερ μεμψίμοιρον Ἑρμίδιον, *Schol*. Ἑρμίδιον, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐτελές. *in Pace*. Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unſeaſonable to adde ſomething of the forme of their Gods; whom they made ſtanding with their hands upward, as if they were more willing to receive then beſtow any thing. To which [a] *Ariſtophanes* alludes, ſaying, — καὶ γὰρ Θεοί. Γνώσει δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τι κ̓ ἀγαλμάτων. Ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεσθα διδόναι τἀγαθά. Ἕστηκεν ἐκτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπτίαν. Οὐχ' ὡς τι δώσοντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται. *Even the Gods you ſhall know by their hands and ſtatues. For when we pray them to give us ſome good thing, they ſtand with their hands upward, as if they would ſend down nothing, but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewiſe that theſe Idols were clothed, is no newes doubtleſſe to one meanly verſed in the Greeke antiquities. To ſay that they weare ſhooes too, is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phæcaſiani*, from φαικάσιον, a kind of low ſhoos which the *Athenians* called κονίποδας, from κόνις, duſt, and ποῦς, the foot, becauſe they were neare the ground. διὰ τὸ πελάζειν ὡς ἔοικεν τῇ κόνει τὼ πόδε, ſaies [b] *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more ſure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. [c] *Juvenal*.

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleti
Phæcaſianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

h Pag. 693.

[a] Concion. p. 747.

[b] Pæd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152.

[c] Sat. 3. v. 217.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Superſtitione Athenienſium, & vaticiniis.

LOng ſince were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apoſtle for ſuperſtition, which though it properly ſignifies [d] a worſhipping of the Gods too much, yet under it theſe follies are comprehended. Purification after fearfull dreames, in [e] *Ariſtophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which ſenſe ſome underſtand *Perſius*. *Noctem flumine purgare.* Wearing of rings againſt witchcraft as a ſpell, called [f] δακτύλιος φαρμακίτης. [g] Spitting into their boſomes thrice at the ſight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepſie*. Of which alſo *Theocritus*, τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον. I knowe not whether the cuſtome of our ſillie people have reference to this foppery, who uſe to ſpit at the naming of the Divell. Certaine it is that anciently they did ſpit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τιθέναι to contemne or ſet little by, as the [h] Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* on theſe words, πτύσας ὡσεὶ δυσμενῆ. Waſhing with water the head as often as he ſhall goe into the ſtreets τὴν κεφαλὴν λούεσθαι, [i] *Theophraſtus*. Anointing of ſtones, divers it ſeems from thoſe heaps ſacred to *Mercury*, termed Ἕρμαια. This hath been of old. Done indeed as a token of thankfulneſſe by [k] *Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he tooke the ſtone that he put for his pillowes, and ſet it up, and powred oyle on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan-Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houſes, Serpents ſeen ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ſaies *Theophraſtus*, of which [a] *Terence*. *Intro it in aedes ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit.* Put to theſe a [b] Cat or Weeſel (the word ſignifieth both) croſſing his way, the Mouſe eating his ſalt bag. Not unlike them now adaies, whoſe clothes the Rats or Mice ſhall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he ſhall have great ill betide him.

[d] Donat. in Ter. p. 67.

[e] Ranis p. 274. vide & Æſch. in Perſis.

[f] Ariſtop. Pl. p. 88. f.

[g] Thoph. Ch. p. 49.

[h] Antigonen.

[i] Charact.

[k] Gen. 28.18.

[a] In Phor. Ac. 4. Sc. 4.

[b] γαλῆ. Theoph.

him. Adde the avoiding of obſequies for fear of polluting Antiquity was of opinion that ſacred perſons were defiled with the ſight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath obſerved, and c *Euripides* brings in *Diana* ſpeaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay the ſtanding upon a grave was great religion, ἐπιβαίνειν μνήμασι. Furthermore obſerving of daies good and bad, of which d *Heſiod*, ἄλλη μητρυιὴ, ἄλλη δὲ μήτηρ, that one is a ſtepdame another a mother. e Amazement at the Eclipſe of the Sunne, as alſo the f Moone; not knowing the reaſon, why ſhe did looſe her light, at that time, when ſhe was in her full luſtre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted ſtones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Ariſtophanes* [illegible]. Of the vertue I ſpeak nought. g *Boemus* relates that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an hearb when they are great with child which makes them to bring forth without pain. Ioine to this the ſneezing over the right ſhoulder or the right ſide, h πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν. Obſervation of Διοσημίας, or ſudden ſtormes, as the i *Sch.* of *Ariſtophanes* interprets it, ſnow, haile, or the like. k Cutting off their haire, and ſacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephiſſus*. Marking the flight of the owle, whence came the Proverb, l γλαῦξ διέπτατο, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἵπταται for good luck. The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*, m [illegible] They ever accounting it ſo, ſince the warre at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* ſeeing an Owle, took courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana.* [illegible] Other madneſſe of theirs was ſleeping in the n Temple of *Æſculapius*, who were ill at eaſe, ſuppoſing the deity to give, or ſhew them a remedy, o for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock. If I miſtake not. What ſhall I ſay of p putting him to death who ſhould cut down an Oake or an Holme (ſo *Ilex*, which in Greek is πρῖνος may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heroum*. And puniſhing *Atarbes* capitally who being diſtracted

c In Hip. p. 603. vide etiam Euſtath. in Ιλ ϖ.

d ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἡμ.

e Plut. Pericle p. 123. l. 35.

f Plut. Nicia. p. 392. l. 21.

g Lib. 4. c. 11.

h Plut. Them p. 85. l. 23.

i In Ach. p. 379. & p. 424.

k Pauſ. Att. p. 35. l. 31. v. de Euſt. in Il. B.

l Ariſtop. Veſpiſ. p. 508.

m Zenobius.

n Ariſtop. pp. 44 66. T 438.

o Petronius.

p Ælian. ποικ. l. 5. c. 17.

and had ſlain a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius*. Thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or propheſyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage vaunting how firſt he taught men * Οἰωνιστικὸν, Ὀνειροκριτικὸν, Ἡπατοσκοπικὸν, Θυτικόν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may read in a *Xenophon*. Ὀνειροκριτικὴ, *the interpretation of dreams*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts which we conceave of things offered to our fancie in ſleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her ſonne *Xerxes*, whom ſhe ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients tearmed ἐνύπνιον ὄναρ. *Æſchylus* aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Deitie, ϰ̓ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστι b *Homer*. The skill in them is ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἃ χρὴ ὕπαρ γενέσθαι, κληδόνας τε δυσκρίτους (γνωρίζειν) to truly tell the event. Which was no ſmall art: certaine Books are written of that Subject. d ϰ̓ πολλῶν ἐγγραφαὶ περὶ τέχνης ὀνειροκριτικῆς as *Artemidorus* his *Onirocritica*. Οἰωνιστικὴ, *Soothſaying by Birds*, when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to ſhew what it doth Prognoſticate. e *Æſchylus*. Γαμψωνύχων τε πτῆσιν οἰωνῶν σκεθρῶς διώρισ', οἵτινές τε δεξιοὶ φύσιν, εὐωνύμους τε, ϰ̓ δίαιταν ἥντινα ἔχουσ' ἕκαστοι, ϰ̓ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνες ἔχθραι τε ϰ̓ στέργηθρα ϰ̓ συνεδρίαι. It was formerly ſtiled f (οἰωνιστική, ἀπὸ ἐν διανοίᾳ φερομένων ἀνθρώπων οἴησιν ποιεῖν) which the mind doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greek Writers, but moſt properly ὀρνεοσκοπικὸν, which g *Telegonus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*; but according to h *Plinie*, *Car*, whence it is called *Caria*. Ἡπατικὴ, looking into the Liver or entrals, like the Latines *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them, λοβοῦ τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν; as likewiſe the ſoundneſſe, hence taken as a prodigie λοβὸν οὐκ ἔχων κεφαλήν, in k *Plutarch*, the extremitie of the liver (like the outmoſt parts of the Vine leafe, faies *Iſidore*) not to be ſeen, or rather that which they call the head,

* Vide Sch. pag. 32.

a Ἀπομ. α. initio.

b Iliad. 1.

c Æſchy. Pro. p. 33.

d Euſt. in Il. a p. 36.

e Pag. 33.

f Ariſtides. T. 3. p. 25.

g Nonnus Συναγ. l. 5. α οθ'.

h Nat. hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

i Æſch. loco citato.

k Pag. 351. l. 31.

G Ovid,

Ovid, exſumque caput reperitur in extis. Ἔμπυρα, in marking the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, l φλογωπὰ σήματα, the Tragedian calls them, by which they could foretell events. More doubtleſs had they ways of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. Ἐνόδιοι, as when one ſhall meet you carrying ſuch or ſuch things, then this ſhall befall you, *Æſchylus* terms them ἐνοδίους συμβόλους, *Sch.* τοὺς ἐξ ὑπαντήσεως. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum*, on theſe words, *Parr è strivis*. The Scholiaſt of a *Ariſtophanes* on σύμβολον ὄρνιν. They made, quoth he, whom they met firſt, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation, which b *Sophocles* calls εὐφήμισμα φροντίδος, wiſhing luck, as χαῖρε among the Greeks, and the Latines c *Eſto bonis avibus viſus, &c.* Σύμβολον is put likewiſe for ſneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but ſacred to d *Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that Ζήσαις, which we imitate in our *God help you*, as often as we ſee any Man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Diſeaſe, is ſufficiently evinced by *Caſaubon* on *Athenæus*. Οἰκοσκοπικὸν, at the ſight of a Mouſe, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the Houſe, or when the Oyl cruſe is dry, Honey, Wine, Water is ſpent, to gueſs at future things. Of this e *Xenocrates* wrote. Χειροσκοπικὸν, Palmiſtry, when by the length of the Hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of ſteeneſs in Houſe-keeping, of Marriage and Poſterity, of which f *Helenus* once left a Monument. Παλματικὸν, gathered out of the ſhaking of the parts of the Body, as the ſhoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kinde *Poſidonius* was an Author expoſed to the World. Ἐγγαστριμυθεῖν, as that wherein the Witch of *Endor* was experienced, out of the loweſt parts of whoſe Belly the Devil ſpake. The firſt that practiced this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*, hence they who are poſſeſſed with this Spirit of Prophecying are called Εὐρυκλεῖται, *Eurycliтæ*, as the g *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* who calls this Art h Εὐρυκλέους μαντείαν, *the Divining of Eurycles*. Νεκυομαντεῖα, where after ſolemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the

ſouls

l Æſch. loco. citato.

a In Au.p.574.

b In Oed.Tyr. initio.

c Ovid. Faſt.

d Sch. Ariſtop. loco citato.

Nonnus in Naz.

f Nonnus.

g In Veſp.pag. 503.

h Ib. p.502.

ſouls of the deceaſed, demanding of them what afterward ſhould befall. As [i] *Wierus.* And no wonder, for they held the Spirits of their parents and kindred for Gods, *quibus ſacrificabant* (ſays *Bodin*) *& ad quorum ſepulchra comedebant, in quos ſcriptura invehens ac deteſtans, inquit, & comederunt ſacrificia mortuorum,* to which they ſacrificed, and at whoſe ſepulchres they fed, againſt whom the Scripture inveighing and deteſting, ſpeaketh, *And they ate the oblations of the dead.* Of this [l] *Ariſtophanes* makes mention, and [m] *Homer* in his *Odyſſes.* This is that which moſt properly is called γοητεία from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes,* [a] for with great mourning they invocated ἀνόμους δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accompliſhment of their diveliſh deſigns. It may moſt fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia,* [b] for ſo the Wiſards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μαγεία, from whence the word Magick is derived, ſeemes to have been found by the *Medes* and *Perſians,* whoſe Prieſts were called *Magi,* great Philoſophers, as [d] *Laertius* is witneſs. This is ſuppoſed to be the good Magick. [e] ἡ ἐπίκλησις ἐστὶ δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν, πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος σύστασιν φαρμακεία, is a giving of *Philtrum,* a Medicine for the procurement of Love, or rather enraging of Luſt, by bewitching ſomething and giving it to be eaten, which to have power over Swine is credibly reported. Κοσκινομαντεία, Tricks with a pair of Sheers and Sive, of which *Theocritus.* [f] Ἀξινομαντεία· To take councel of an Hatchet, taking it and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-ways, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty uſe of a Key and Bible. Ἀστραγαλομαντεία, by the caſting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farms, *&c.* which anſwer to the quantity of the chance. [g] Ἀλφιτομαντεία & Ἀλευρομαντεία, done by Corn, [h] Ἀριθμομαντεία, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, and by value of them to judge the conqueſt, As they ſaid of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles,* Ὀρνιθομαντεία, making a circle, they divided it into four & twenty parts,

and

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[i] De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.

[k] Dæmonomaniæ. l. 2. c. 3.

[l] In Avib. p. 613. a.

[m] Lib. λ.

[a] Nonn. in Naz.

[b] Vide Bodin.

[c] Vide Non.

[d] In Procem.

[e] Nonnus.

[f] Vide Odyſ.

[g] Vide Theocrit. in Phar.

[h] Delrio Diſqui. Mag l. 4. c. 2. q. 5. ſec. 7.

and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and obſerving from what letters he took up the grain, they at laſt joyned them together, and ſo knew their ſucceſſors, husbands, &c. Στιχομαντεία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the firſt verſe that they lighted upon to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who ſo foretold it, meeting with that verſe of *Homer*, which ſpeaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Theſſaly*. [i] *Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* and becauſe poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets prophets, they were moſt buſie in them. Hence in publique cauſes had the Romans recourſe to the *Sibylline Oracles*, & the private Grecians to the verſes of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifeſt out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for foretelling or divination. [a] I know the ſhe Prieſt of *Apollo* being inſpired with a kind of holy fury ſpake to thoſe who asked counſel. Whence the word [b] μαντικὴ at this time read for Soothſaying, was anciently called μανικὴ madneſſe. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of lottery; is as clear as day, the [c] Scholiaſt of *Euripides* teſtifying; done it ſeems in matters of queſtion, ſo κλῆρον δέχεσθαι may intimate as much as to undergoe trial. Predictions there were, [d] ſaith *Euſtath*, out of ſignes and wonders, as alſo of the noiſe that leaves makes when they are burned. To which ſome adde ἀερομαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Ariſtophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

[i] Wier. de Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

[a] Vide Sch. Ariſt. in Plut.

[b] Ariſtid. T. 3 pag. 25.

[c] In Hippol. p. 580.

[d] In Il. a. p. 36.

CAP. VII.

De Templis & Aſylis.

THeir Churches were of two ſorts; ſacred to their Gods in Greek, ναὸς, or ἱερά. And ſacred to their Demi-gods moſt properly σηκοὶ. But the word is promiſcuouſly uſed by the Tragœdians. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the firſt Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceaſed. [e] ναοὶ μὲν εὐφήμως ὀνομαζόμενοι, τάφοι δὲ γενόμενοι, τουτέστι τάφοι ναοὶ ἐπικαλούμενοι. *Cecrops* buried in the *Acropolis*, *Ericthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, *Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleuſiis*, *&c.* They were divided into two parts, the ſacred and prophane, this called ἔξω περιῤῥαντηρίων, the other ἔσω. [f] *Caſaubon* tels us that περιῤῥαντήριον was that holy water ſet at the dore of the Temple, with which every one that entered into the Temple beſprinkled himſelfe, or was beſprinkled by thoſe that ſacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it ſtood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawful for any but the Prieſts to come. The [g] Schol. of *Sophocles* thus deſcribes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar ſtands. Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, Ἕδρος, where they placed the Idol which they worſhipped; in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, [a] σανὶς *Clemens Alexandrinus* cals it, as that of *Juno Samia*, afterward made in the magiſtracie of *Procles* to be a ſtatue. At firſt named, [b] ξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἀποξέεσθαι τὴν ὕλην, from the ſhaving of it; but when art began to be ſo expert as to make it reſemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from βροτὸς *mortalis*, whoſe ſhape it bare. At the ſetting up thereof they uſed theſe Ceremonies: That a Woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple veſture, ſhould bring on her head a pot of ſodden pulſe, as beanes, peaſe, and the like, which they ſacrificed in thankfulneſſe for their firſt food, [c] εὐχαριστήρια ἀποτιμῶντες τῆς πρώτης διαίτης. For as much as I conceave out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was conſecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερῷ or ναῷ, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their geſture towards it. [d] Αὐτὰ δὲ ἃ θεραπεύουσιν, ἀγάλματα, ξόανα, ἕδη θεῶν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Veſtry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον by ſome tranſlated *ſummum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This ſeems to have been a Treaſurie both for the Church, and

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[e] Vide. p. 12.

[f] In Theop. Charact.

[g] In Oed. Tyrannum.

[a] Protreptico p. 23.

[b] Idem.

[c] Schol. Ariſt. p. 115.

[d] Lib. 1. c. 1. τμ. γ.

any ſoever, who fearing the ſecurity of his wealth, would commit it to the cuſtody of the Prieſts, as [c] *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* in *Epheſus*. *Martial* points at this, when he ſays,

Templa vel arcano demens ſpoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they eſteem of theſe Houſes of their Gods, that to do thoſe offices of Nature, I mean, venting of Excrements too ſhameleſly ſeen among us, in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination, puniſhed ſeverely by *Piſiſtratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* Ground had brought forth, they ſo hated him for that Taxation, as they made the περίοδον of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden never was redreſſed. And yet ſo ſecretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, ſave at laſt one Stranger, whom he cauſed to be whipt, with this Proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence, to a man that ſoundly ſmarted for his wickedneſs, they were wont proverbially to ſay, *He had better have eaſed himſelf in the Pytheum*; or if there were more, in the plural number. Κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ ἀποπατῆσαι. Nay ſo honorable held they theſe Churches, that to them they granted priviledge of *Sanctuary*, to which who ſhould fly, might not from thence be drawn out under a Treſpaſs upon Religion. Of this kinde was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theſeus*, the Altars of the *Eumenides* and *Mercy*, [a] whoſe Image they would not have erected any where in their City, although in the midſt thereof ſhe had a Grove. [b] The firſt *Aſylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclydæ*.

[c] Laertius in vita. p. 122. vide ad eum locum Caſ.

[a] Vid. Roſin.

[b] Polyd. Virg. in Eurip. *they are preſented ſitting near the Altar*. T. 2. p. 472.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy Orders among them I conceive to have been of divers ſorts. Παράσιτοι, *Paraſiti*, a word had in latter times in great deriſion, exagitated almoſt in every Comœdy, put for a ſhark or ſmell-feaſt, [c] *Edax Paraſitus*. But held once in good eſteem. For when they had ſet apart ſuch a parcel of Land as they thought the Revenues thereof would ſuffice for the Sacrifices of ſuch and ſuch Gods, they choſe certain Men who ſhould receive or gather the Harveſt. *Crates*, [d] οἱ ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ ἱερῦ σίτυ ἐκλογὴν αἱρούμενοι. With the incomes of this were the charges of thoſe publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence πρόσοδα μεγάλα *introitus magni*, great yearly Subſtance, is uſed for great Sacrifice in [e] *Ariſtophanes*. Scholiaſt. ὅτι δὲ ἔλεγον τὰς προσόδους τὰς θυσίας θύειν Κήρυκες. *Cerycei*, the ſame ſignifies a Crier, but in ſacred Functions a Miniſter, who ſlew and offered the *Victim*. [f] *Anthenio* the Comœdian aſcribes much honor to them, as if they had firſt taught men to ſeeth Victuals, the fleſh of Sheep and Oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from [g] *Ceryx* the ſon of *Mercury* and *Pandroſus*. But [h] *Caſaubon* ἀπὸ τῦ κρείττον@. *A præſtantiore parte numeris quod obibant, ſic dicti: Idem namque & hoſtias mactabant, adolebantque, &c.* They in the time of Divine Rites, craved the ſilence of the People in theſe Words, Εὐφημεῖτε. Σιγᾶ πᾶς ἔστω λεώς. Be whiſt all yee People. Good words, for ſo [i] εὐφημεῖν ſignifies, as well as to ſay nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he ſays, *Male ominatis Parcite verbis.* When ſacrifice was ended, they diſmiſſed the Congregation with theſe Words, λαοῖς ἄφεσις. To which Cuſtom he unfitly looked who derived the Maſs from *Miſſa eſt, ite*, better fetcht in my minde by [a] *Wechellus* from *Maſsath* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praiſe. Μυσταγωγοί, the ſame

[c] Terent.

[d] Secun. Att. Dialecti. apud Athen. p. 235.

[e] Avib. p. 581.

[f] Apud. Ath. l. 14. p. 661.

[g] Vide Salm. in Inſcripti. Pollucem. l. 8.

[h] In Athen. lib. 15. c. 23.

[i] Cauſab. in Theophraſt. p. 321.

[a] In lib. quem ſcripſit de Sacrament.

ſame with [b] Ἱεροφάντης, who initiated them who deſired to be admitted into the ſociety of the ſuperſtitiouſly zealous (who after they were entered, were not under a year compleat, permitted to ſee their Bable) [c] *Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάντης ὅτι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν. *Hierophanta* ſo called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερά, opening the holy things. Εἰσὶ δὲ Ἱερουργοί. [d] The Learned Biſhop, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moſes* among the *Iſraelites* was an *Hierophanta*, ſhewing unto them what they were to doe in thoſe ſacred buſineſſes. Πυρφόροι, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whoſe office made them ſafe in warre and danger. Hence of bloody fight we ſay οὐδὲ πυρφόρος, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there eſcaped not he that ſerved at the Altar. Ἱεροποιοί, The Prieſts in the *Great Myſteries*, tenne in number. Νεωκόροι whom [e] *Nicander* cals ζάκοροι from ζακορεῖν τὸ καλλυντίζειν, to be decent, becauſe they kept the Temples clean, and ſwept them as, *Ion* in [g] *Euripides* ſpeaks. Theſe were the ναοφύλακες, whoſe charge it was to preſerve that which was found in the Church, and to ſee that repaired which went to ruine, ſaies [h] *Ariſtotle*. And yet we read that the *Paraſiti* did ſometime look to the mending of it. There being a law enacted that what they laid out ſhould be reſtored again. Ἱερεῖς in [i] *Ariſtophanes* likewiſe termed θεράποντες. Theſe are the Prieſts ever waiting on the Gods, [k] whoſe prayers the ancient required at their ſacrifices; out of which they had a fee, [l] the trotters and skinnes, as the [m] *Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no neceſſity, for there being Tables in their Temples, as *Caſaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps ſometimes depart) of which the Prieſt according to his ſtomack did ſhare. Well known to [n] *Ariſtoph.* who relates the like of the Prieſt of *Æſculapius*. It was requiſite to this function that they who undertook it ſhould be ſound both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ἀφελεῖς before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremonie to have been uſed among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their neighbours,

[b] Meurſius Eleuſin. in c. 13.
[c] In Stel. 1. p. 63.
[d] L. Mountac. of Chicheſter.
[e] In Alexaph. p. 144.
[f] Ariſtop. Sc. p. 125.
[g] T. 2. p. 621.
[h] In Politic.
[i] In Plut. p. 71.
[k] Caſaub. in Theoph.
[l] Ariſt. p. 481.
[m] Ariſt. p. 101.
[n] In Plut. p. 71.

neighbours wives bearing record, ſaies [a] *Christianus*,) that they have not taken into their ſocieties *quid mutilum.* There were moreover ſhee-Prieſts as the Βασίλιννα, in *Demoſthenes*, & the Κανηφόροι whom in all things [b] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* compared to the veſtall Nunnes.

C A P. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philoſophie is of opinion that Sacrifices firſt began after the ancients had ended their harveſt. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth and jollitie. In which they offered their firſt fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to doe any ſacrifice. Neither doth ἀρχεθύειν import leſſe. For [c] ὁ θὶν ſignifies the bend, or great cheſt of the garner, wherein they laid up the harveſt threſht and winnowed; ἀρχὴ, the firſt or beginning, as if when they began to treaſure up their ſtore, the firſt of all liberally paid ſome devotion to their Gods. The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing elſe but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering; who willed in his lawes, that they ſhould be [d] ἐξαίρετα ἱερεῖα, choſen and ſelected ſacrifices. The rights performed in them were not different from thoſe in the daies of *Homer*, but ſomewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand theſe holy things to purifie themſelves ſome certaine daies before, [e] ἁγνεύειν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν, the number of them is not ſet down. I take ἁγνεύειν here to abſtain from carnall delights, (*Tibull.* 2. *Diſcedite ab aris Queis tulit heſterna gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpoſe *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go to ſacrifice anſwered, from her own at any time, but a ſtranger never. Being thus prepared they came and ſtood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered

[a] In Ariſtoph.

[b] Ant. q. l. 2. n. 3.

[c] Vide Schol. Eur. in Phœn. p. 221.

[d] Plut. p. 65. l. 26. *they called their lean ſacrifices* κέρατα καὶ τρίχας. *hornes and haire, as if naught elſe,* Ariſt. p. 584.

[e] Demoſth. pp. 400. 476.

with flower and salt in f *Aristophanes* οὐλαί, in g *Homer* οὐλοχύται) with which they cut the throat of the *victime.* Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. h *Aristophanes.* Περίιθι τὸν βωμὸν ταχέως ἐπὶ δεξιά. This luſtration was made with meal and holy water ſprinkled thereon. This water is called i χέρνιψ in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the ſtanders by, accounting it a kind of clenſing. (Hence a χέρνιβας νέμειν was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted and forlorne rogue.) Then they caſt ſome of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cryed out b Τίς τῇδε; *Who is here*, to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ κἀγαθοί. Many and good. Then they prayed. c *Homer.* Ἐξείης ἔστησαν ἐΰδμητον περὶ βωμόν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο, Τοῖσιν δὲ Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὔχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the latter they ſpake with a loud voice εὐχώμεθα, before they began. *Let us pray.* Supplications ended they drew the victime ſo as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might looke upwards, which d *Homer*, αὖ ἔρυσαν. *Euſt.* [illegible] If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they flew him and skinned him, & cutting out the * buck ſhin-bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσσα (hence the God of the heathen are deciphered by e *Nazianzen*, κνίσῃ χαίροντας, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. f [illegible] For the Grecians accounted ſo unluckie if it did not ſo conſume, and thought that it was not [illegible] upon the [illegible] they caſt ſmall peeces of fleſh cut from every part of the beaſt, beginning with the ſhoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοθετεῖν. The reaſon *Euſtathius* gives, g [illegible] that they might ſeem to conſume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry ſome of the ſacrifice home. By

reaſon

f In pace. p. 695.

g Ιλ. α. with these οὐλοχύται the *Greeks ever began ſacrifice, the Romans* Far, Dionyſ. Halic. l. 2. n. 4.

h Loco laud.

i Athen. l. 9. p. p. 409.

a Sophocles Oed Tyr.

b Ariſtoph. p.

c Ιλιαδ. α.

d Ιλιαδ. α.

* Μηρία.

e In Stel.

f Euſtath. p. 101. Ιλ.

g Loco laud.

reaſon of which injunction, they did ſo ſtrain curteſy with their Gods, that the illiberall or niggardly ſort of people would ſel that which was left, and ſo make gaine of their devotion. ʰ Τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα πάντα τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι ſaies *Theophraſtus.* Where ⁱ*Cauſabon* notes, *Coxam ferè offerebant, aut inteſtina, aut aliud non magni rei perſæpe.* They offered the hanch bone, or the entrals, or ſomewhat of no great worth. Where by entrals you are to underſtand the ſpleene, the liver, and the heart, which *Homer* cals σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it ſignifies the heart too, in which ſenſe we ſay ἄσπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a puſillanimous man, & εὔσπλαγχνος a couragious as the ᵃScholiaſt of *Sophocles* teaches us, & ſo σπλάγχνα ἐλέους the bowels of compaſſion. Theſe the ancients did divide among them at ſacrifice to feed on, and afterwards cut out the reſt to roſt. For when they had finiſhed their devotions, they let the reines looſe to all manner of voluptuouſneſſe, gluttony, and drunkenneſſe. For oft times they left nothing of their ſacrifice, eſpecially when they offered to *Veſta*, whence the proverb, Ἑστίᾳ θύειν, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari ſacrificare.* To ſay that publickly they begun to *Veſta* were more then I could well prove, but that they did ſo is plaine. In their houſes they had Altars, and ſo I ſuppoſed once Ἀφ' ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken, but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on ᵇ*Ariſtophanes.* As for their meat offerings it was required that they ſhould be ᶜſound and without blemiſh, whether it were an oxe, ſheep, goat, ſwine, calfe: to ſacrifice they ſimply termed ἔρδειν which our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*, ᵈVirgil, *cum faciam vitula.* Whoſe poverty was ſo great that he could not afford a ſheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleaſed if he offered *Molas*, which the Greekes call ᵉθυλήματα *meale*, which by the richer was mingled with oyle and wine, as the ᶠScholiaſt of *Ariſtoph.* The more wealthy inſted of this did caſt frankincenſe on the Altars. For the ſacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were ſet apart, as ᵍ*Demoſthenes.* In

h Th. *Charac.* περὶ ἀνελευθερίας.

i Pag. 336.

a In Ajacem Lorarium.

b Vide p. 582.

c vide Pollucem l. 1.

d In Bucolicis.

e Cauſab. in Theop. p. 237.

f Pag. 701.

g Pag. 378.

their oblations the μάγειροι or cookes gave the[b] 10 part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀδιανέμητος κακὸν, put for [illegible] where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Ariſtop.* on ἀδειπνοῦντες τῶν θεῶν ἱερῶν ἄχρι τοῦ κοσμεῖν. Ἔθος δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἁπάσαις τῶν θυσιῶν τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι διδόναι. ὅθεν δὲ [illegible] ἀδιανέμητον ἔχειν τὰ ἱερὰ, &c.

b Schol. Ariſt. p. 304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THE ancient Greek year conſiſted of three hundred & ſixtie daies, each moneth conſiſting of thirtie. Rude antiquity ignorant of celeſtiall contemplations, deeming the Moone to finiſh her courſe in that ſpace. Which according to [a] *Petavius* ſeemes falſe. *Lunaris enim non fuit, ſed ejus menſes tricenis diebus conſtabant ſinguli.* By which reckoning, had they not uſed intercalations, they had ſoone found a maine difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their feſtivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*, in which when they found ſeaven daies deficient, they ſupplied them by adding * 2 to every end of the year, called ἄναρχοι ἡμέραι, [b] *eò quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magiſtratibus carebant*, Becauſe for thoſe two dayes *Athens* was without Magiſtrates. But the laſt of theſe four had but 359 daies, beſides the two ὑπερβάλλοντα, in reſpect of the Olympick games, ever kept in the *Olympick* games, ever kept in the * full moone, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moone. Neverthleſſe the Sunne and Moone appearing 14 daies oddes in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Moneth, that this time being ended, the courſe might ſtill returne the ſame. This all *Greece* obſerved, ſaies *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed [illegible], by the people of *Etis* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in uſe among the Grandſires of *Greece*, is not

a De Doct. Temp. l. 1. c. 1.

* Negat Petitus Miſcel. l. 8. p. 192. Petav. affirmat

b M. Selden. in Apparat. ad Græco Epoch Chro.

* id eſt, *The fifteenth day*

c De D. Tem. T. 1. p. 4.

not truly known; by [d] *Petitus* delivered to be of D: 347. every Month 29 D: except one, which like our February had but 28 D: Every two years one Moneth was inſerted: once of 29 D: another time of 28 D: But becauſe in two years this * *magnus annus* ſurpaſſed the Moon 15 D: *itáque Tetraeterida fecerunt*. This cōſiſted of 1445 D: 723. & 722 make 1445. So many daies 354. foure times doubled hath, if you pleaſe to adjoyne 29. Of this ſort of calculation doth he underſtand [f] *Geminus*. Τὰς μῆνας τριακονθημέρους ἄγειν, τὰς δὲ ἐμβολίμους παρ' ἐνιαυτόν. *That muſt be fitly underſtood*, quoth he, *for they did number the monethes as if they were* 30 D: *when notwithſtanding they had but* 29. [g] *Petavius* is otherwiſe conceited, who takes the Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* in that ſenſe, as meaning 29 D: full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to [h] *Geminus* you may accouut 29 $\frac{1}{2}$. $\frac{1}{33}$ and [i] *Ulpian*, οἱ χρονογράφοι, καὶ ἡμερῶν 29½. And yet are we not deſtitute of authority, that a Moneth was ſupputed 29 D. [k] *Theon*. Μῆνα δὲ λέγουσι, τὸν ἀπὸ συνόδου Σελήνης καὶ Ἡλίου ἐπὶ χρόνον σύνοδον, ὅς ἐστιν ἡμερῶν κθ. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plaine, Ἐστι δὲ τὸ [illegible] ἡμερῶν ἁπλῶς, ὅ ἐστι τὸ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χρόνον. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ μηνὶ ἐχρῶντο πρὸς, τὰς τῶν πολιτικῶν διαγωγὰς καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *He meanes a day the ſpace of a night and a day, for according to ſuch Monethes did they adminiſter their civil affaires. And now it is in requeſt among many of the Greekes.* But of this enough. Soone was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty; therefore was made a Kalender of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sunne, to wit, 11 D: $\frac{1}{4}$. made up three Months, inſerted every third, fift, and eighth year. But the ſcruples comming ſhort in ſixteen years 3 D: they intercalated three. And ſeeing ſtil they could not make it even. [a] *Euctemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack for nineteen years, which by *Calippus* was produced to 76. Monethes 640. of them 28. ἐμβόλιμοι μὲν, [illegible] τῶν ἐμβολίμων ὄντων ἑπτὰ [illegible], ſaies *Geminus*. This was the progreſſe of their reformation.

[d] Eclog. Chr. p. 229. Petav. goes not ſo home. Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c. 6.

* each of theſe two yeares ſeverally taken was called vertens, joyned annus magnus.

[e] Loco laud.

[f] Elem. Aſtro. c. 8. p. 36.

[g] In Auctario.

[h] Loco citato.

[i] In Arg Orat, contra Aud. p. 380.

[k] In Arati Dioſem. p. 74.

[a] Geminus p. 38. VVhom I follow. Not ignorant that Meton was the firſt that made the Circle of 19. years. Hence Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός. Metons yeare is put for a long time proverbially.

But we muſt look back againe and conſider that they counted their yeare two waies. Firſt of [b] CCCLX, as hath been already ſpoken, next CCCLIIII, when they made the Moneths interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι, *full and deficient*, that is, one 29, the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their daies. The firſt, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalepha* or contraction of the words νουμηνία. The ſecond δευτέρα. The eighth διχομηνία, or halfe full: the full πανσέληνος. The laſt τριακὰς, [c] ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀμβαίνοντος, becauſe that in the daies of *Thales Mileſius*, [d] who was the author of that terme, the Moneth had 30, and no more, but ended, whence *I* ſuppoſe [e] οἱ ἐς ἀδ᾽ ἐς τεταγμένοι, ſignifie the dead, the period of whoſe life hath been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reaſons. And by the way we muſt not think, that they had no regard to the courſe of the Sunne, [f] *ſed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris, &c.* But nevertheleſſe that the yeare might be correſpondent to the Sun, they put five daies, called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the laſt Month *Seirrophorion*, for the ſupplying of the defect. And ſo the year had 365 D. which was the true and juſt meaſure. But he might have added ſometimes 366, by reaſon of that 1 which *Geminus* acknowledges the Greekes to have reckoned, although they accounted their Moneths but 30 D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which [a] *Aratus* ſtiles μέγαν ἐνιαυτόν. To this point the Greeke Authors, telling the yeares by ſeed time. [b] *Sophocles* — εἰλλομένων ἀρότρων ἔτος εἰς ἔτος. For the ancients, ſaies [c] *Theon*, took the year three waies, either by the Sun, or ſeaſons, as ſpring, ſummer, autumne, winter, [d] (*Sophocles*. Ἐξ ἦρος εἰς ἀρκτοῦρον ἑκμήνους χρόνους χειμῶνι δ᾽ ἤδη —) or thirdly by the Moone: whoſe irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* firſt to have marked. Obſerving therefore that ſhe on the ſame day overtooke and ſurpaſſed the Sun, [f] τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν καὶ καταλαμβάνουσαν καὶ παρερχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, he cauſed that to be called [g] ἕνην καὶ νέαν *the old and new*, becauſe that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

[b] *Then were all the months of 30 D. as you may ſee in Schol. Ariſtop.* Achar. p. 412. c.

[c] Gem. p. 32.

[d] Laertius in vita.

[e] Pollux l. 1.

[f] Petit. Eccl. Chro. p. 215.

[a] In Διοσημ. p. 78.

[b] In Antigon. p. 213.

[c] In Aratum p. 78.

[d] In Oedipo Tyran. p. 183.

[e] In vita pag. 66. l. 15.

[f] Plutarch.

[g] Laert. in vit.

the precedent Moneth,and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the ſubſequent. (Theſe peeces b *Aratus* cals συνιόντος μηνὸς πείρατα) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in ſight, who in his i *Odyſſes* termes the thirtieth day,as *Didymus* expounds it, Τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἱσταμένοιο. Where we may note that then they had no μεσοῦντος, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinal numbers*,uſed by k *Demoſthenes* in one Oration,ἑνδεκάτῃ,and δωδεκάτῃ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος.Then putting the leſſer to the greater they ſaid τρίτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα,τετάρτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα,*the third above ten,the fourth upon tenne*,and ſo to twentie, * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great,and the light almoſt loſt, they changed the order and uſed δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, ἐνάτῃ.&c. *the tenth of the decreaſe, the ninth of the decreaſe,* and ſo the twentie nine, δευτέρᾳ φθίνοντος, *the ſecond of the decreaſe,or from the end,* going lower in number ſtil, as the ſplendor of the Moon was diminiſhed, but the 30th they call'd ἕνη καὶ νέα for the cauſe above. Here likewiſe they take the reaſon why the Moneth ending was φθίνων. l Ἐπειδὴ φθίνειν ἄμφω καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν δοκεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Becauſe the daies and Moones doe as it were die, according to that of *Horace. Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ.* m *Macrobius, quid aliud niſi illum ἔνην καὶ νέαν dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis ſupputatio in nomen deſinit ſecuturi: & ἱστάμενον illum, qui præcedit numerum ſucceſſurus priori in defectum meanti.* Ἱστάμενος ſtanding to ſupply the place of the departing Moneth; fixed and ſtill waiting untill the Moon ſhall have journied to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the laſt day of our lives is ſaid to ſtand.*Virgil*,n *Stat ſua cuique dies*,as unto which we muſt paſſe through all the reſt, and once approach. Thus ſquared they their times and ſtate matters to the Moon. Hence read we μῆνας κατὰ πόλιν ἄγειν, to count the Moneth as they do,who manage politick buſineſſes, or belonging to goverment. In which courſe they made their year of ·CCCLIIII daies, which divided into ten pars make ten

times

b In Dioſem. p.125.

i Οδυσσ. ξ. pag.164.

k Contra Timocratem.p. 446.n.39.

*Vide Plutarch. loco nuper laudat.

l Ulpian in Dem.p.310.

m Macrobius Sat.l.c.16.

n Æneid.10.p. 339.

times 35, which ſpace each [a] πρυτανεία ruled in its turne, the foure that abounded were called ἀρχαιρεσίαι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The year thus diſpoſed, the Moneths muſt of neceſſity be πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as [b] *Geminus*. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν ἀγωγὴν ἀποδεδωκότες λαμβάνοντες μηνιαῖον χρόνον εἶναι ἡμερῶν κθ΄ καὶ λαμβάνοντο τὸ διμηνιαῖον γίνεσθαι ἡμερῶν νθ, ὅθεν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐν τῷ κατὰ πόλιν βίῳ ἐναλλὰξ ἄγονται πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι. διὰ τὸ τὴν Σεληνιακὴν διμηνον ἡμερῶν εἶναι νθ. If a Moneth have 29 D. ½, two have 52. Becauſe therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it that now it ſhould be 29 D. then 30 D. The *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the ſun on this day untill the going down of the next. In reſpect to which [d] *Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noone ſleep, ἑσπέριος δὲ ἰαύων. *To take the reſt at the beginning of the even.* I know that the Ancients wrought but ſix houres in the day. [e] *Martial, ſexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit.* Which [f] *Euſtath* affirmes in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Ζ.Η.Θ.Ι. where the notes of the 7, 8, 9, 10. houres, which joyned make ζῆθι, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the Laborers, *Reſt*. The beginning of the year was [g] *Hecatombæon, July*, the eight, ſaies [h] *Petitus*. They ever accounting that to be the firſt Moneth. In which order I have found them ſet down in a [i] Manuſcript in our publique Library, only *Mæmaſterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion*.

[a] Argum. Or. Dem. contra Androt. p. 380.

[b] Elemen. Aſtronom. p. 31.

[c] Macrob. l. 1. Sat. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 77.

[d] In Theriac.

[e] Lib. 4. Ep. 8.

[f] In Ιλ. ad ἀγαθὸν ἢ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι.

[g] Caſaub. in Athen. p. 931.

[h] Chronol. Eclog.

[i] In 40 num. 24 p. 264.

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew,*	*Egypt,*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ἰανουάριος.	Αἰγόκερως.	Σεβάτ,	Τυβί.	Αὐδυναῖος.	Ἑκατομβαιὼν.
Φεβρουάριος.	Ὑδροχόος.	Ἀδάρ.	Μεχείρ.	Περίτιος.	Μεταγειτνιὼν.
Μάρτιος.	Ἰχθύες.	Νισάν.	Φαμενώθ.	Δύστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Ἀπρίλλιος.	Κριός.	Ἰάρ.	Φαρμουθί.	Ξανθικός.	Πυανεψιών.
Μάϊος.	Ταῦρος.	Σιβάν.	Παχών.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακτηριών.
Ἰούνιος.	Δίδυμοι.	Θαμμούζ.	Παϋνί.	Δαίσιος.	Ποσειδεών.
Ἰούλιος.	Καρκίνος.	Ἄβ.	Ἐπιφί.	Πάνεμος.	Γαμηλιών.
Αὔγουστος.	Λέων.		[illegible]	Λῷος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.

Σκυ-

Σεπτέμβριος.	Παρθένος.	Θωθ.	Θυσεία.	Γορπιαῖος.	Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Ὀκτώβριος.	Ζυγός.	Μαρμάν.	Φαωφί.	Ὑπερβερεταῖος.	Μουνυχιών.
Νοέμβριος.	Σκορπιός.	Χαλιβ.	Ἀθυρ.	Δῖος.	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκέμβριον.	Τοξότης.	Τιβυθ.	Χοιάκ.	Ἀπελλαῖος.	Σκιρροφοριών.

In which table although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appeares not that *Hecatombeon* was ever ſo removed out of his place, as [a] *Petitus* will have it, *Epiphaneus* condradicting, of which by & by. Indeed when the Chriſtians in honour of their Eaſter began the year in April, they called April *Hecatombaion*, as he [b] *himſelfe Teſtifies*. But that *Hecatombaon* was alwaies the firſt Moneth is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's ſucceſſors changed the head of the year from *July* to the ſeaventh of *October* it is like that they began at *Mamacterion* according to this [c] rule,

Μαιμακτηριών.
Ποσειδεών.
Γαμηλιών.
Ἀνθεστηριών.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Μουνυχιών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκιρροφοριών.
*Ἑκατομβαιών.
Μεταγειτνιών.
Βοηδρομιών.
Πυανεψιών.

[d] Certain it is that the ſame *Attick* Moneths are ſometimes Lunary, & ſometimes not, but of 30 D: or *Julian*, When they are Lunary they have no ſure ſeat, but are now at this time, then at another. And this hath been the Reaſon why the ſame Moneths have not been ſuted to the *Julian*, by writers

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[a] Eclog. Chr. p. 42. 14.

[b] Loco laud.

[c] Ex MS. Biblioth. Bodleianæ in 8o. n. 8.

[d] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. p. 138.

e Pag.21.
f Pag.263.
g In Olynth.3.
h Pag.148.
i Pag.140.
k Pag.167.
l Pag.120.
m Pag.167.
n Eclog.Chr. l.1.c.6.p.213.
o Vide Petav. in Epiphan pag.139.

Vlpian on *Demoſthenes* parallels *Hecatombaon* to [e] *Ianuary*, and in the Oration for *Cteſiphon*, to *March*, and again to [f] *April*. [g] *March* he cals *Boedromion*, which alſo he interprets [h] *Iune*. *Elaphebolion* [i] *November*, [k] *September* (in the margin *February*) and [l] *December*. [m] *Thargelion*, *April*, *Munichion* *January*. *Scirropherion*, *March*. Which errors are curſorily noted by [n] *Petit* in part, to no great ſatisfaction. But when by the decree of *Auguſtus Cæſar* they were charged to conform their year to the *Julian*, they [o] thus numbred.

Menſes Attici.	*Menſes Juliani*
Ἐλαφηβολιών.	*March.*
Μουνυχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιρροφοριών.	*June.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*Auguſt.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Ποσειδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ανθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this, ſo much only. We muſt handle their Lunarie year, becauſe according to them were their feaſts kept. From whence ſometimes they would count, as [a] τοσοῦτον καὶ ὅσον ἐκ Διονυσίων. So much and as long ſince the *Bacchanals*, ſpeaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies view this Almanack.

a Ariſtoph.p. 806.c.

Hecatombæon. July.

1 Πρώτη ἱσταμένου, Πρυτανεῖα ἀγρότη.
2 Τρίτη.
3 Τετάρτη.
4 Πέμπτη.

Ἕκτη

5 Ἕκτη.
6 Ἑβδόμη.* Κάθοδος Θησέως εἰς Ἀθήνας. Kept in memory of
the returne of *Theſeus* out of *Creet*, after he had
7 * Ὀγδόη. ſlayne the *Minotaure*, [b] *Plutarch*. The ſolemni-
tie [c] *Ovid* ſeems to deſcribe: *Nullus Erecthidis*
8 Ἐννάτη. *fertur celebratior illo Illuxiſſe dies, &c.* the eight
9 Δεκάτη. day of every Month was ſacred to him. He had
alſo a feſtival called *Theſeia*, in honour of gathe-
ring together the diſperſed people of *Attica*.
10 πρώτη μεσοῦντος.
11 Δευτέρα. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια. Of theſe, as alſo of the day, ſpeaks
13 Τετάρτη. [d] *Demoſthenes*. Then did the maſters wait on
14 πέμπτη. their ſervants, as in the Roman Saturnals,
15 * Ἕκτη. [e] *L. Accius. Maxima pars Graium Saturno,*
16 Ἑβδόμη. *& maxime Athenæ Conficiunt ſacra, quæ*
17 Ὀγδόη. *Cronia eſſe iterantur ab illis, Cumque diē cele-*
18 Ἐννάτη. *brant, per agros, urbeſque fere omnes Exercent*
19 Εἰκάς. *epulis læti, famuloſq; procurant Quiſque ſuos.*
20 Δεκάτη φθίνοντος. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β. Hence was
21 Ἐννάτη. this Moneth called by the ancient *Atheni-*
22 Ὀγδόη. *ans* Κρόνιος; afterward *Hecatombæon*, from
23 Ἑβδόμη. ἑκατομβαῖα, ſacrifices to *Iupiter* or Apollo, as
24 Ἕκτη. ſome think with the bloud of an hundred
25 πέμπτη. beaſts: For ſo were they profuſe in their ſa-
26 Τετάρτη. crifices. [f] *Ovid. Taurorum ſanguine centum.*
27 * Τρίτη Παναθήναια [g] The Scholiaſt of *Homer*
28 Δευτέρα ſayes that *Hecatombe* may be uſed for five &
29 Ἕνη καὶ νέα twenty beaſts, whoſe feet make up the num-
ber of an hundred, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν βάσεων, ὅ ἐστιν ἐξ εἰκοσιπέντε ζώων.

* To *Minerva* the protectreſſe of their citie, as hath been before ſaid, inſtituted by *Theſeus*, as [h] *Plutarch*, καὶ παναθήναια

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[b] In vita p. 12.

[c] Metamorp. l. 7. Fab. 23. Vide illum diligenter. Nam erit operæ pretium.

[d] Pag. 446. contra Timocratem.

[e] *In Annalib.* vide *Macrob.* Satur. l. 1. c. 7. verſus finem.

* *Then were kept the* Μετοίκια *in memoriall of their tranſmigration.* Plut. p. 8. l. 9. *By ſome it is termed* Συνοίκια *Ariſtop.* pag. 700. Plut. initio Them. l. 12.

[f] *Metamorph.*

[g] In Il. α. pag. 6.

[h] *In* vita p. 8. l. 8.

θυσίαν ἐπιθεῖναι κοινὴν. At firſt they had the name Ἀθήναια, by *Ericthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of ſolemnization there were rare ſhews exhibited to the people,ſuch as a horſe races, wreſtling, dancing in armour, called Πυῤῥίχη, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in proceſſion the *Peplus*,or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in i *Meurſius* at large,and k *Ariſtophanes* his Scholiaſt.

The ſecond of this moneth is called τρίτη, becauſe it hath but 29 daies, and ſo alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion. Auguſt.

From the ſacrifices of *Apollo*,called Μεταγείτνια.

1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
2
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4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
5
6
7 Πρυτανεία δευτέρα.
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9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
18
19
20
21

22

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i In Panathenæis.

k Pag.140. 197.180.181. 467.580.650. 746.

22
23
24
25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
27
28
29
30

* *Boedromion* September.

1
2 Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pauſanias* and *Ariſtides* over-
3 threw *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his General near *Platæa*, a
4 citie of *Bœotia*,[a] *Herodotus*, [b]*Juſtin*.
5 Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick*
6 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ. forces got the upper hand of the
7 *Perſians*. In which battle
8 when *Cynagirus* purſued the
9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ. flying enimies to their ſhips,
10 he caught hold of one with his
11 * χαριστήρια Ἐλευθερίας. right hand, which loſt, he made
12 uſe of his left; that cut off, he in token of his prow-
13 eſſe ſpared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name
for valour againſt his enimies.
14 * Ἀγυρμὸς Μυστηρίων.
15 * In thankfulneſſe for the delivery of *Greece*, at what
16 time *Darius* and his fleet went homeward. [b] *Ariſti-*
17 *des* deſcribes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Al-
18 tar to *Jupiter* that freed them.
19 * The greater in which they were made [c] ἐπόπται, or
20 admitted to the ſight of that they worſhipped. The firſt
21 day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the

* *From this Moneth came the Feaſts* Boedromia *from Theſeus over-throwing the* Amazons. Plut.p.9 *or* Ion *helping the A-*thenians *againſt* Eumolpus Βοηδρομεῖν *to aid because in neceſſity they made a cry.* Ariſtophan. Βοῇ [illegible] Lucian. ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. Latini. *Quiritari, hence help came in.*

[a] Colliop.p. 234.b.lib.3.

[b] Tom.1.pag. 257. ſee Plut.in Ariſtid.p.241.

[c] Sch.Ariſtop. p. 247.

Here I look on Meurſius *for brevities ſake but if you pleaſe to read ſeverally, ſee* Ariſtoph. Sch. p.85 98.131. 138. 455. 529.647. 142. 218.227.228. 231.233.217. 262.264.516. *Ariſtid.* T. I. p. 323 Clem. Alex in Protrep. p. 10.

people. The ſecond ἄλαδε μύσ-
22 * Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. σαι, becauſe the Crier then
23 warned them to goe to the ſea. The third day they ſa-
24 crificed a Barble, becauſe it devours the ſea hare, an eni-
25 mie to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket re-
26 preſenting *Proſerpine* gathering flowers, which wo-
27 men following cried χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Haile *Ceres.* The
28 fift they ranne with torches. Hence λαμπαδηδρομία, and
29 λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. The ſixt *Bacchus* was carried in pomp.
Hence it is termed Ἴακχος. The 7th day they exerciſed in feats of activity & he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8th was *Epidauria* from *Æſculapius* his comming frō *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two meaſures of corn, and ſetting one at Eaſt and the other at Weſt, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying ὕε, the other to the ground, ſaying, κύε. Thus *Meurſius*. That day was πλημοχόη.

The ſecond of this Moneth was left out ever, ſaies [a] *Plutarch*, inſteed of which ſome are perſwaded, the name onely was omitted, as τετάρτη for τρίτη, which was recompenced by ἐνδεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, or εἰκάδων. As in a defective Moneth δεκάτῃ φθίνοντος, for the twentie. Of this judgment is the [b] *worthie Petavius.*

[a] Sympoſ. Q. l.9. q.6. & in l. περὶ φιλαδελφίας. p.331.

[b] Lib. de doct. Temp. 1. c.5. p.11. D.

* *Pyanepſion.* October.

* Mæmacterion *is to bee inſerted here.*

This moneth took denomination from the feaſts *Pyanepſia*. For mingling the remainder of their food after their ariving they put it into one pot, and ſeething it, were Ioviall altogether at the ſame.

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ.
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7 Πυανέψια After that *Theſeus* had buried his father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if
8 he returned ſafe from the death of the *Minotaure*, he
9 would ſacrifice unto him a pot of ſodden beanes. Hence
10 πυανέψια, as it were κυαμέψια. For the antiques called beanes πύανοι.
11 Ἄνοδος εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια.
12 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
13
14 Θεσμοφόρια *c Plautus* cals this feſtivall *vigiliæ Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames
15 kept moſt ſober and chaſt, ſtrowing their beds with *co-*
16 *nyza* for that purpoſe, it being an enimie to luſt. They
17 prepared themſelves with faſting, but after that took
18 Πρυτανεῖα. δ. their liquor freely. The number of daies were three allotted, as
19 ſome, or foure, as others. When *Caſtellanus* ſaies that
20 *Ovid* makes them nine, is falſe; for that was the *Myſte-*
21 *ria*, as we above have ſhewne. They were done in ho-
22* nour to *Ceres*, that gave lawes firſt, as ſhee is termed Δη-
23 μήτηρ θεσμοφόρος. Of theſe you may read *d Ariſtophanes*
24 and his Scholiaſt.
25 * Ἀπατούρια kept this moneth. When the Parents
26 brought their children to their Tribes, to be inroled, I
27 ſuppoſe for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they
28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α. made merry for four daies. The firſt was Δορπία. The ſe-
29 cond Ἀνάῤῥυσις. The third Κουρεῶτις. The fourth, Ἐπίβδα.
30 Χαλκεῖα. In honour to *Minerva*. *f Meurſius* tea-
ches us that they were celebrated the 17 of this moneth, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them.

Mæmacterion

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c In Aulularia.

d Pag. 611. 770. 782. 783. 819. 820. 829.

f Græcia Feria. l. 1.

Mamacterion. November.

This moneth is to be placed before *Pyanepſion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who ſo hath ſet it, though much againſt the opinion of other learned: as Mr *Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for moſt approved.

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7 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ. *Plutarch* in the life of *Ariſti-*
18 *des*, ſaies that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greeks* ſend yearly
19 ſome to ſacrifice to the memory of thoſe that died at
20 *Platæa*, and every five year they have great paſtimes,
21 which [c] he ſets down the manner of.
22
23 Πρυτανεία. δ. This moneth is derived from *Jupiter*
24 *Memactes*: for I ſuppoſe they firſt found Gods, after-
25 ward feſtivals to them. Not the moneths firſt, and
26 then named the Gods from them.

[c] Pag.241.

27
28
29

Poſideon. December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Poſidon.* For the first day of this moneth was ſacred to him, as [b] *Caſaubon.* Hence hee thinks it to be called Ποσειδῶνος ἡμέρα.

1
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
5 Ἀλῷα. *Dionyſia* τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς. Without the citie. It ſeemes when they had gathered in, vintage
6 and preſſed their grapes. Ἀλωὴ *Torcular.* Then were they
7 moſt jocund, as may appeare out of that *Like the voice of*
8 *them that tread the wine preſſe*, and in [c] *Oppian.* ἐπαλωΐσι Κύπριν
9 χαίρειν. On which words [d] *Conradus Rittarſhuſius* takes
10 Ἀλωαιῶν to be *Ianuary*.
11
12
13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.
14
15
16 Ἀλῷα. A feaſt to *Ceres*. The day doubtfull. [e] *Demoſthen.*
17
18
19
20
21
22
23 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
24

[b] In Theoph. Char. ult.

[c] α. v. 127.

[d] Pagina, 18.

[e] Pag. 743.

25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
27
28
29 Πρυτανεία. ϛ.
30

Gamelion January.

1 From the marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-
2 fore we have ſpoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*
3 on *Lycophron*. That moneth wherein this people coup-
4 led, hence is called *Gamelion*, from Γάμος, *nuptiæ*. It is ſa-
5 cred to *Juno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *con-*
6 *jugalis*, Preſident of weddings and the marriage bed.
7
8
9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
10
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16
17
18 Κυρία ἐκκλησίαι β.
19
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27
28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .γ.
29

Anthesterion. February]

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .δ.
3
4
5 Πρυτανεία .ζ.
6
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11 Ἀνθεστήρια. Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first Πιθοίγια
12 from πίθος the tubs, and οἴγειν, to open, for at the broa-
13 ching of their veſſells they drunk ſtiffely. The ſecond
14 Χοαὶ from *Chus*, a good capacious veſſell. In this he that
15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .ε. could drink down the reſt of his companions had a
16 golden crowne. The third χύτρα, I ſuppoſe different
17 from χύτροι. From this Feſtivall the moneth is named.
18 The twelfth of which *Dionyſia* in *Limnis* were kept,
19 called μεγάλα & ἀρχαιότερα. The 13th were acted Comœ-
20 dies, begun the 3d yeare of the 93 Olympiad, when
21 *Callias* was Archon. But after they were taught as [a] *Do-*
22 *nat* and [b] *Vlpian* witneſſe, and [c] *Ariſtophanes*, ὅτι πᾶνθ᾽ [illegible]
23 συντρέχει ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ καινὰ δράματα βλέπων, ſaies one.
24 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .β.
25
26
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29

Of this you may ſee Ariſtoph. p. 293. 417. 419. 422. 222.

The day was called χύτρα *likewiſe, but not in the ſenſe ſpoken.*

[a] *In* Terent. p. 289.

[b] *In* Demoſt. p. 184.

[c] Pag. 143.

29
30

Elaphebolion. March.

1
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3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
5
6
7 Θυσία Ἀσκληπίων. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
8
9
10 Πρυτανεία. ε.
11
12
13
14
15
16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ.

Of theſe c *Æſchines* makes mention, and you ſhall have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.

c Contra Cteſiphont.

17
18
19
20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
21
22
23
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28
29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.

Munychion

Munychion. April.

1
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10 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
11
12
13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
14
15
16 Μουνύχια. Πρυτανεία ἑορτὴ *Munychia* were observed to *Dia-*
17 *na*, who was ſo called, and had a Temple in *Munychia*,
18 by *Athens*. The moneth beares the name. In this
moneth were the cauſes of ſtrangers judged.[a] *Ariſt.Sc.*
19 Διάσια. To *Jupiter Meilichius*. The greateſt day
that the *Attick* rout was kept in. See of
20 this [b] *Ariſtophanes* and [c] *Euſtathius*.
21
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25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
27
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[a] Avib. p. 60.
[b] Pag. 150. 174.
[c] Iſmen. & Iſm. l. 1.

Thargelion. May.

1
2
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4
5 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .β.
6 Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*, holding it to be their na-
7 tivitie. On this day did they expiate for the ſinnes of the
8 people. For they were wont to nouriſh ſome baſe men,
9 and of no account, at the publique charge whom in time
10 of peſtilence, or the like they ſacrificed for the ſinnes of
11 the citie, Two in number, ſaies the [a] *Scholiaſt* of *Ari-*
12 *ſtophanes*, whence they were called δημόσιοι: but more
13 properly καθάρματα & φαρμακοί, [b] *Ariſtophanes*.
14
15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .γ.
16
17
18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .δ.
19
20 Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Βένδις.
21 Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meurſius*.
22 Καλλυντήρια. Πρυτανεία .ι.
23
24 Πλυντήρια. *Pettius* places it on the 24 day, o-
thers will have the 25. To *Miner-*
25 *va*, on which they take off the ornaments of her ſtatue,
26 and waſh it I ſuppoſe, [c] *Plutarch*; [d] *Xenophon*.
27
28
29

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[a] In Equites pag. 353.
[b] In Ranis.
[c] Pag. 152.
[d] Ἑλλην. α. p. 257.

Scirrophorion, Iune.

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11
12 Σκίρα. To *Minerva* from σκίρον, a Canopie, under which her Prieſts did walke in pomp at that
13 time: or from the ſtatue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus.*
14 [c] *Schol. Ariſtoph.*
15 Βουφόνια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had ſlain that
16 beaſt eating the meale provided for the ſacrifice, he
17 ſlew him and fled, in memory of which this day was
18 kept. Afterward they did mitigate the Law, and gave
19 licence to butcher an Oxe, ſo that he was not for the
20 plough. To which [d] *Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos*
21 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .γ. *Quî domini cultris tenue & miſerabile collum Præbet, ab*
22 *invito jam faſtiditus aratro.*
23
24 Κυρία ἐκκλησία .δ.
25
26
27 Πρυτανεῖα. ἡ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c.
28 Where *Petitus* makes the foure firſt Tribes to governe
29 each his day, on thoſe foure that abounded above the
30 year; * *Sigonius* ſeems to agree, and * *Mauſſacus* approves

[c] Pag. 497. 725.

[d] Satyr. 10. v. 268.

* Athen. Rep. l. 2. c. 3.

* In Notis ad Harpocra.

proves it. Neither is it miſliked dy * *Petavius.* * *Scaliger* hath falſely taught us otherwiſe, who makes each *Prytania* to rule 36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the firſt foure.

* De Doct. Temp. l. 2. c. 1.
* De emend. Tem. lib. 1.

CAP. IX.

De Tragœdia, Satyrica, & Comœdia.

IT is take for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer*, who lived [a] 987 yeares before Chriſt, was the firſt that taught [b] τραγικῶς λέγειν, to ſpeak in Tragœdie; comprehending great and weighty matters in few words and very conciſely, being more large and uſing circumlocution in matters of leſſe conſequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following ages ſtill built though rudely) a ſtructure to ſmall perfection. *Nam poſt illius tale tantumque documentum, &c.* ſaies [c] *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had repreſented a Tragœdie, by the *Odyſſes* a Comœdie, moſt ingenious imitators took thoſe Poems and ſet them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconſideratly, & without judgment written, impoliſht, and in the firſt rudiments not ſo neat and trim, as in proceſſe of time they were made. For Poeſie was a great while in her minoritie, and very rude, after the firſt publiſhing of plaies. For we ſee little or nothing of [d] *Suſarion*, the firſt Comœdian, worth our time: ſome few verſes only, & ſo few as may but witneſſe ſuch an Author. The original of the word Comœdie is ſuppoſed to be taken from divers reaſons: Firſt, becauſe in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they ſung them, and ſo it may be derived from κῶμος, *commeſſatio*; [c] κωμάζειν, ſignifying τὸ ᾄδειν αἰσχρῶς ἀείδειν, to ſing baſely at the cup. Secondly from κῶμα, ſleep; becauſe when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the cuſtom (as before hath been ſpoken) for the party abuſed, to come in the

[a] Vid. Can. Chro. ad Gr. Epoch. Mar. Arund. p. 97.
[b] Hermog. de Eloq Meth. p. 561. c. 33. Euſtath. in Præf. ad Iliad.
[c] Tract de Trag. & Comœd. præfat. Terentio.
[d] Marmo. Arunde. & ad ea Seld. CL. Præfixa etiam Ariſtophan. ᾠδὴ κώμῳ .δ.
Sch. in Naz. Stel. C. d. 106.

the night ſeaſon into the ſtreets,and with a loud voice cry, ſuch and ſuch rejoyce in wrong, and commit ſuch outrages, though there be Gods and Lawes. And after that,proclaimed the parties name,who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen and much ſhamed;by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κώμη,a ſtreet,becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world meeting merrily in the ſtreets and high waies,they laid open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, f *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis læti, alacreſque veniebant; ibique cum nominibus ſingulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were firſt ſung g in the green Meddowes, h about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the feſtivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the vine, the skin of which they took and ſowed up cloſe, filled with wine,and anointed it with oyle to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they call ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a skin and ἀλάζω,to leap, i *Ariſtophanes* ἀσκωλιάζ' ἐγγὺς ἐν οἴνῳ θέλειν. k *Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur, & veteres ineunt proſcenia ludi;
Præmiaque ingeniis Pagos & compita circum
Theſidæ poſuere, atque inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis unctos ſaliere per utres.

After *Suſarion* ſprang up *Theſpis*, the firſt that made Tragœdies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lachrymoſa poëmata*, ſad poems; becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries the misfortunes of Kings and great men eſpecially,there being no place for a poor man,but only to dance,as m *Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave an occaſion to n *Socrates*,when he ſaw the moſt worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants,to ſay to *Antiſthenes*,doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we marke

L that

f Donatus de Tra.& Com.
g Idem ibid.
h In Synopſi vitæ Ariſtop. Th.Magiſter.
i Plut.p.108.
k Geor.2. p.71.
l Iſa.Tzetzes in Proleg. ad Poetas, *interprets* κώμας, μικρὰ χωρία.
m In Epictet. p.95.
n Ælian.Var. l.2.c.11.

that ſuch as *Atreus, Thyeſtes,* and *Agamemnon* are ſlain, but what Poet was yet ſo impudent as to bring a baſe fellow on the ſtage ſacrificed? Not ſupernumerary is that of *Euripides* for K. *Archelaus,* deſiring that he would write a Tragœdie of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdie might happen to him, meaning ſorrow and lamentation. For ſo is Τραγῳδία uſed, as [o] Κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The firſt Tragœdie that *Theſpis* taught was that of *Alceſtis* reprieving her husband from death by her own, as [p] Mr *Selden* hath conjectured. This *Theſpis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as [q] ἀνωφελῆ ψευδολογίαν, a fruitleſſe lying. *Horace* of him thus ſpeakes.

Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camœnæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis.
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.

Upon which words ſome have written, that his Poems were ſo voluminous, that he was conſtrained to bring them upon waines. But alas, a poor conceit! [r] *Franciſcus Luſinius Uticenſis* is of opinion that *Theſpis* carried his ſcene upon carres and *Acron*; That the *Chorus* carried about in waines acted Tragœdies. *Chori plauſtris circumducti Tragœdias agebant.* [ſ] I avouch that at the firſt the Poets acted alone their own Fables: And to me it ſeems a ground for to ſtand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴν, intimating a Poet. οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριτὰς, &c. The ancients, ſaies [t] *Ulpian,* called the Poets *Hypocritas, actors,* which we now terme *Tragœdi,* ſuch as *Euripides, Ariſtophanes, &c.* The place in which they ſung their Poems, was a Scene upon a wain drawn in proceſſion to the honour of their God *Bacchus,* as among the *Greeks* the cuſtome was, ſaies [u] the Scholiaſt of *Nazianzen.* Of the manner in thoſe ancient times, [*] *Plutarch* ſhall thus informe you. Ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κληματίς, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs and laſt of all the *Phallus.* In which ſolemnitie the Poets in waines following the pomp, might without controle laugh, ſcorne, and deride any they met, ſaies [x] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſ-ſeus,*

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[o] Athen. l. 3. p. 90.

[p] Ad *Marm. Arund.*

[q] Laert. in Solone. p. 40.

[r] In Horatii Poeticen.

[ſ] Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.

[t] In Demoſt. p. 40.

[u] Stel β pag. 107.

[*] περὶ φιλοπλουτίας p. 345.

[x] Antiq. Rom. l. 7.

ſani; or were wont, as the [y] *Schol: of Nazian:* to rayſe upon each other. Whence πομπεύειν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in a good ſenſe ſometimes [z] to celebrate the pomp, or goe in proceſſion in honour to the feſtivall) and [a] πομπεία, a ſcandall or reproach, ὕβρεις, λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek proverb, [b] ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης λαλεῖν, *tanquam ex plauſtro loqui*, and ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuſe. Which that they might doe the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca*, *olei fæce*, with the dregs of oyle, ſaies *Donat*, or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρυγὶ) from which Poets by [d] *Ariſtophanes* are called τρυγοδαίμονας. *Horace*. *Peruncti fæcibus ora*. Sometimes would they put on vizards, which leſt they ſhould hurt the head, were defended from the skinne with a wollen cap, named πιλίδιον. A word elegantly uſed by [f] *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawne from the liberty and impunitie of the perſons that wore it. Οὐκ ἔνεστι δ᾽ ἐν πιλιδίῳ περινοστεῖν καὶ τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων ... ἄδικον λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Think not to eſcape ſcot-free for ſuch villanie, though you get a *pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any ſlanderer, of whom we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeak of the ſtage; I wil therefore return to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragœdies, ſo called, as *Donat* tels, becauſe (leſt there ſhould be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namque pro dono his dabatur*. τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδὴ a ſong. *Horace*, *Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum*. Before that time ſome ſay that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies, but the moſt received opinion is this which *Horace* hath ſet downe of *Theſpis*. Before him there was no art of poeſie Tragicall, but at their feſtivals, when they aſcribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did it eſpecially

[y] Loco laud.

[z] Hermog. Meth. de Eloquentia, c. 2. p. 519.

[a] Dem. pro Coron. p. 134.

[b] Schol. Ariſt. p. 142.

[c] Vlpian. in loc. cit. Dem.

[d] Nubibus p. 141.

[e] Vlpian. in Dem. p. 254.

[f] De falſa Legatione.

ly to *Bacchus* (and ſo afterward, when Actors are called Διονύσου τεχνῖται, and τεχνῖται, ſimply by g *Demoſthenes*, by *Dona Artifices.* The word is uſed for Juglers, and ſuch as *Hokus Pokus* in h *Theophraſtus*) they would feaſt, and afterward ſcoffe and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their ſolemnitie. They would moreover dance at rude Muſick, and from thence ſuppoſe they the *Chorus* to have ſprung up. They would likewiſe caſt forth αὐτοσχεδιάσματα, as they terme them, in i *Virgils* language, *verſus incomptos*, k *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi ſolitos & ſine arte.* For they had of old but two ſorts of verſes, *Heroïcks*, in which they ſung the praiſe of Gods and Noble men, and from this in a ſhort time, with ſmale care grew a Tragœdie; the other ſort was *Iambicks* as toying and laſcivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comœdie. At firſt ſmall was the difference betweene a Tragœdie and Comœdie, l *conſtat ſane, primis temporibus ignoratum fuiſſe diſcrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reaſon is, becauſe even Tragœdies had their wantonneſſe and petulancie. At firſt they ſung in honour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praiſed their Demi-gods, which when the people ſaw they cryed downe, with Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbiall adverb is fitly uſed ἀπροσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpoſe. But to give content to the people, the Satyres did *præludere.* But after that, when a Tragœdie took ſtate they excluded the Satyres, and were only for ſad and ſerious perſons; by which mournfull poëms the people were wont to be caſt downe, ſympathizing with the perſon repreſented therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton Satyres were brought in by *Theſpis* as m *Horace*.

Mox etiam agreſtes Satyros nudavit, & aſper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functuſque ſacris, & potus & exlex.

In a Satyrick play, Satyres have a *Chorus* place, or elſe the

perſons

g Orat παρεσϐ. p.242.
h Charact. vi. Caſaub.
i Georg. 2.
k Caſaub. de Sat. Poeſi. l. 1.
l Caſaub. ib.
m De arte poet.

perſons are *Satyrick* and ridiculous, and for the eaſing of the mindes of the ſpectators, they would bring in Satyres for ſports ſake, and many of their Tragœdies had ſome mixture of Satyrick ſport, ſaies [n]*Caſaubon. Fuiſſe* [r]*aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas.* Of this I ſay *Theſpis* was the firſt inventer, who likewiſe to eaſe the *Chorus* ([o]for that acted only) brought one actor upon the ſtage, to whom *Æſchylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, ſo the number was three, *Æſchylus's* is δευτεραγωνιςὴς, *Sophocles* his τριταγωνιςὴς, a word put for an obſcure and baſe fellow in [p]*Demoſthenes*, *Vlpian*, ὡς ἀδοκιμώτατος τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ſpeaking of *Æſchines*, if I remember, *Tully* calls them Actors *ſecundarũ & tertiarum partium* [b] *Vt in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, ſæpe illum qui ſecundarum & tertiarum partium, cum poſſit aliquanto clarius dicere, quam ipſe primarum, multum ſummittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat.* But let me ſpeak what I have to ſay of a Tragœdie. [a]None was permitted once to act *Æſchylus*, *Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors might (as I conceive repeat them. Τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, οὐκ ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὰς ὑποκρίνεσθαι. And to this purpoſe by a law of *Lycurgus* the Oratour were they commanded to be tranſcribed, and kept under cuſtodie ἐν κοινῷ. Yet the [b]Author of the life of *Æſchylus* writes, that the people made a decree, that he ſhould receave ſuch a ſumme of gold, that would διδάσκειν the plaies of *Æſchylus* after his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere*. Becauſe Tragœdians as well as the Comœdians were ſaid ὡς διδαχὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐργαζόμενοι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the ancients lay out ſo much mony upon their Theaters. [c]*Sed immane quos quantoſque ſumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræſentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utriſque emendari, at prudentiam conferri, ſed & ſcripta antiquiſſima & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magiſtratuum, cum ſummo ſpectatorum fructu,*

[n] P. 126 de Sat. Poeſi.

[o] Laert. p. 220.

[p] 184.

[q] In divinat.

[a] Plutarch. in vita X Rhet. p. 452. B.

[b] Juxta finem

[c] Heinſius Poleg ad Ariſtarchum Sacrum.

in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac graviſſima ſubinde publico ſuppeditari crederent conſilia. Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. *I came hither to teach you, not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers ſay, [d] *δεδίδακται, docetur fabula,* and *διδάσκειν, docere,* as ſometime *δεικνύειν,* as you may ſee in [e] *Athenæus.* The following Poets did not alwaies repreſent their own Fables, but oft-times their predeceſſors; ſo ſaies [f] *Quintilian,* the people permitted the works of *Æſchylus* to be dealt with, becauſe in many places his verſes were not ſet in order. Hee brought great grace to the ſtage, and firſt taught *σκηνογραφίαν,* the painting of the Scenes; which ſome think *Horace* to ayme at, when he ſaies, *Modicis inſtravit pulpita ſignis.* Which becauſe it was perfected by *Sophocles,* is thought (nay ſpoken affirmatively by ſome) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did *πολλὰ καινουργεῖν,* bring in many new things: ſuch as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himſelfe acted) by reaſon of the badneſſe of his own voice; he found out white ſhooes, which the Actors and Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelue; he fitted likewiſe his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. But that he invented *σκηνογραφίαν* I cannot finde. Somewhat likewiſe was added by *Euripides*: [g] as to ſet out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragœdie, as you may obſerve; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the laſt and principall point of that one action which he would repreſent, which by the glory of our nation [h] S^r *Philip Sidney,* is not paſt by, as frivolous, without noting. Theſe three were the Princes of the Tragick ſtile, who exhibited to the People every year at ſome certaine ſolemnities their Poems, ſtriving who ſhould get the victory by the approbation of Iudges, choſen for that purpoſe, called [i] *Δημοτικοὶ Κριταὶ,* and [k] *Κριταὶ ἐν Διονυσίοις*; Ten in number, think ſome at firſt, gathering out of *Plutarch,* in the life of *Cimon,* authority for it. Becauſe

[d] Athenæus Dip. l. 6. pag. 268. vide Caſaub.

[e] Pag. 270.

[f] Lib. 19.

[g] T. Magiſter.

[h] *In the defence of Poeſie.*

[i] Heinſius in Proleg. ad Ariſtarchum ſacrum.

[k] Æſchines cont. Cteſiph.

cauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Scyrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoone as the Theater was filled, and ſpectators placed; but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captaines, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed ſacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried neare [l] *Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick Iudges was alwaies Tenne. This we acknowledg done in teſtimonie of high acceptation of *Cimons* ſervice. And yet in judgment upon Tragœdians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeems to be a difference between the Iudges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. The number of Tragick Iudges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to others. [m] *Cum neque provocatio ab iis eſſet, neque de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Iudges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, [n] Πέντε κριτῶν ἐν γόνασι κεῖται. *ſub quinque Judicibus lis eſt.* The [o] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertain. Iudges, quoth he, paſſe cenſures upon the Comœdians, and they who had five voices were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equall voices. For the odde gave a great ſtroake. Hence wiſhes the *Chorus* in the behalfe of the Poet -- Ἑνὶ κριτῇ νικᾶν μόνον, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Iudges had free liberty of ſuffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For when *Ariſtophanes* taught his Νεφέλας, they ſo much tooke the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, καὶ προσέταττον τοῖς κριταῖς ἄνωθεν Ἀριστοφάνην, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γράφειν, ſaies [p] *Ælian*, and commanded the Iudges to write *Ariſtophanes* uppermoſt (as the faſhion was, which [q] *Ariſtophanes*

nes

[l] Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

[m] Heinſius loco laudato.

[n] Zenobius.

[o] Ad Aves p. 562.

[p] Var. H. L. 2.

[q] Avib. p. 562.

nes cals πρωτεύειν [illegible], the moſt excellent firſt, the ne to him ſecond, and next to him third (which was no ſmall praiſe, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember; *Hone-ſtum eſt in ſecundis tertiiſve conſiſtere*) and no other. For which cauſe I ſuppoſe the Poets before reciting, were wo to ſacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and ſpecta-tours. [r] *Ariſtophan.*

Ὄμνυμ' ἐπὶ τύποις πᾶσι νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι—

Where the Scholiaſt interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be underſtood, εὔχομαι to ſupplicate. And good reaſon, For if they pleaſed not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with ſtones. To which uſe [ſ] *Ariſtophanes* points, ſaying—ἐκ λιθόλευστος nay ſometime would they hiſſe them, which they terme κλώζειν and συρίζειν, ſome-time ſtamp them out of the Theater, which they call πτερνοκοπεῖν by [t] *Pollux* interpreted ἐδώλια ταῖς πτέρναις κατὰ κρότον. Ano-ther difference is that [u] the Comick Judges were puniſhed i they judged not right, the Tragick not ſo. And for theſe re ſons have ſome conjectured, nay poſitively written, that th Judges were of two ſorts, old and new, in which matter, i there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they confounded both, making no oddes between the Critick Judges of Tra-gœdies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may deter-mine as your Authors ſhall afford authority. Before *Judges*, a I ſaid, the Poets in emulation preſented their labours, & th who in their opinion loſt the day, were ſaid [*] ἐκπίπτειν, b [x] *Caſaubon* interpreted *non ſtare*. The time of exhibiting the Tragœdies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionyſia i Agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the moneth *Poſideon*, on the *Antheſteria*, or *Dionyſia* in *Limnis*, in the moneth *Antheſterion*, on *Diony-ſia* in *urbe* in the moneth *Elaphebolion*, to which *I* find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thraſylus* in [y] *Laertius*, which ſome den yet the ſame write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this feſtivall. *I* ſay but one, becauſe it was a cuſtome a-mong the Poets of ancient daies to entertain their people with

[r] Loco laud.

[ſ] Ranis p.248.

[t] Lib.6.c.19. p. 203.

[u] Æſchines contra Cteſiph. p.98.

[*] Heinſius Prolegom.

[x] Sat. Poeſi.

[y] Platone pag.220.

with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut non modo ſingulas committerent fabulas, verùm plures*, ſaies [z] *Caſaubon*: Sometime in the ſame year three, and then was it called τριλογία; ſometime foure, and then they ſtiled it τετραλογία, [a] Τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἐκάλουν ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof, ſaies mine Author, the fourth was a Satyricall play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the ſame man, as thoſe of *Æſchylus*, named therefore *Oreſtia*; to wit, Ἀγαμέμνων. Χοηφόροι. Εὐμενίδες. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the ſame ſubject, as that of *Euripides*. *Medea*. *Philoctetes*. *Dictys*. The fourth was Θερισταί, ſaies the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter ſeems to me not to reach to the expreſſion of the Greek word Θερισταί, Σάτυρος; *Meſſores, Satyros*, he ought to have rendred it thus *Meſſores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word beares this ſenſe is ſufficiently dilucidated by [b] *Caſaubon*. That the greateſt task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comœdies were twentie foure, and ſix *juga* (each *jugum* conſiſting of foure; but στοῖχοι foure, each στοῖχος ſix men) in Tragœdies fifty, untill the time of *Æſchylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which ſo terrified the people, [c] that the children and younger ſort fainted, & the women ſuffered abortion; for which reaſon, ſaies *Pollux*, the number was leſſened (which ſome deny) by law. They were by that *Act* brought to fifteene, five *juga*: I ſay *juga*, becauſe they were divided into στοῖχοι, and ζυγά. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three, & then it was called κατὰ ζυγά τάγμα, by file. Στοῖχος, when they came on the ſtage in ranke five at a time, and this they terme κατὰ στοίχους. Sometime one of them entred alone, which they ſay καθ᾽ ἕνα. Of interlocutors [d] the ancients for the moſt part never had above three; but if a fourth ſpake, that they named παρασκήνιον; and if the *Chorus* ſupplied the part of a fourth actor, it was ſtiled παραχορήγημα. To ſpeak of the ſeverall verſes of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*:

[z] De Satyrica Poeſi p. 131.

[a] Laertius loco citato.

[b] Lib. laudat.

[c] Author vitæ Æſchyli.

and I had rather ſpeak of the action, then the art in compoſing: and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed [illegible] [illegible] ſaies the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in analogie to the motion of the univerſe [illegible], from the Eaſt to the Weſt; becauſe *Homer* calls the Eaſt the right hand, the Weſt the left: Contrary to the Hebrews, who terme the South *Jamin*, which ſignifies the right hand, and the North they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the Weſt to the Eaſt, that is from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another poſture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be ſo in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Muſick, which I beleeve) to expreſſe the immobility of the earth they ſtood ſtill. They uſed *Epodes* for the moſt part at the end of the Acts, when the players avoided the ſtage. Thus much of Tragœdies: the authors of which were highly of old eſteemed of; inſomuch as after the diſmal diſcomfeit of the [d] *Athenians* in *Sicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat ſomewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by [e] *Lycurgus*, & eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had ſtatues erected in braſs for the continuation of their memorie. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applauſe taught, as [f] *Horace*.

Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia, non ſine multa
Laude.

He ſaies, *vetus Comœdia*, becauſe Comœdy was divided into three, or if you pleaſe ſo to ſpeak, two ſorts, the Old and New. I ſaid three ſorts, becauſe * the old was different from it ſelfe. The meaning is, that the old Comœdie, of which *Suſarion* (by ſome named *Sannyrion*) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decorum. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the ſmoaking Altars ſung *ſimplex carmen*, ſome naked verſes, ſaies *Donat.* Which by *Cratinus* was redreſſed, for he ordained three Actors and mingled with his ſport profit, I meane for inſtruction. For under the *Democratia* it was lawfull to exagitate and propoſe

[d] Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.

[e] Plut. in vit. x. Rheſ. Pauſ. Atticis. p. 18,

[f] De arte Poetica.

* Grammat. ἡ παλαιὰ ἑαυτῇ διαφέρει.

for a laughing ſtock Captaines and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and ſuch as lead a diſſolute life, naming the men upon the ſtage, and fitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the ſhape of thoſe whom they intended to deride. But as the ſtate grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe, againſt whom he wrote his Comœdie *Bapta*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not [a] ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote his Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*,

—Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, Chorusque
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander of Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leſt any of their abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, & inſteed of abuſing ſtates & people, they fell upon ancient Poets, or ſome part of Hiſtorie not truly written, perſonating the Actors ſo as to be moſt ridiculous: [b] ſometimes ſcoffing on the ſtage at mean men, and this they termed Νέα Κωμῳδία, the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a peece of the *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage, unleſſe they would themſelves, ſaies [c] *Xenophon*, knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort, πλούσιος, γενναῖος, δυνάμενος. Some are of opinion that no Player came on the ſtage untill thirtie or fortie, I diſpute not the matter, ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdie at twenty eight, in which doubtleſſe himſelfe came on the ſtage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. [d] *Æmilius Probus. In ſcenam vero prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in eiſdem gentibus (Græcis) fuiſſe turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honeſtate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies and paſtimes was in the market place, [e] where they nayled ſcaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in

[a] Hermog. Partiti. p.76.

[b] Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt, &c.

[c] Athen. Rep.

[d] Præfatione ad vitas. p.2.

[e] Meurſ. Attic. Lect. l.4. c.ult.

ancient time they had no Theater of ſtone, only of wood, which they call ἰκρία. f *Ariſtophan.*

--Ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων
Ὑποβλέπουσ᾽ ἡμᾶς--

f Theſmoph. p. 787.

Theſe were built by ſome, who upon ſome conſideration of mony admitted any to a ſeat, named therefore g Θεατρῶναι. Once it ſeemes places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuſes. For ſtriving to get places, there roſe wrangling and brawles, and fights, wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place ſhould be hired for two *oboli* (in the Conſulſhip of *Diophantus*, a *Drachme*, ſay ſome, whence roſe the Proverb, h ἡ Δραχμὴ χάλαζα; becauſe at the eſtabliſhing of it, there fell haile) This mony they called Θεωρικὸν, from θεωρεῖν; becauſe with it they did θέαν ἀγοράζειν, buy a ſeat to behold the ſhew exhibited. Now becauſe the poore people had not to give, & ſo were deprived of the ſpectacle, *Pericles* deſiring to be popular, made a law that they ſhould receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man, i For the right of exacting which mony, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchicall Rolles*, as appeares out of *Demoſthenes* For the diſtribution of this were certaine officers appointed, named οἱ ἐπὶ θεωρικῷ. But afterwards *Apollodorus* ſtrove that in warre and publike neceſſity, theſe ſumes might be imployed in military affaires, but he endeavoured in vaine; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capitall for any that ſhould attempt that which *Apollodorus* did. Which makes k *Demoſthenes* deſiſt, willing, yet not daring to perſwade to convert the mony to the uſe of the Armie. But ſee the folly of them! l For they ſpent as much on theſe ſports as in obtaining the Maſterie and liberty of *Greece*. And the end was miſerable: for they became effeminate, and ſo put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoake. m *Juſtin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amiſſo, quem æmulari conſueverant, in ſegnitiem torporemque reſoluti, non ut olim in claſſem exercituſque, ſed in dies feſtos, apparatuſque ludorum, redditus publicos*

g Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 245.

h Zenobius.

i Cort. Leocha. p. 617. n. 50. 51.

k Olynth. 1. p. 7.

l Lacon. apud Plut. Mor. p. 421.

m Lib. 6. fine.

publicos effunderent: & cum auctoribus nobiliſſimis, poetiſque theatra celebrarent, frequentiùs ſcenam quam caſtra viſitarent. Verſificatores Oratoreſque melius, quam duces laudarent. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum eſt. Quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut inter otia Græcorum, ſordidum & obſcurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theater I wil ſay little, as alſo of the ſtage: Only that the places in the Theater were not promiſcuous. For there was a diſtinction between the Senatours and younger ſort. The Senators were named [n] βουλευτικὸν, among which it is probable the Judges had the firſt place, as [o] *Pollux*. The ſeats for the youth were called Ἐφηβικόν. One part of the ſtage was *Orcheſtra*, in which was θυμέλη, either a Tribunal or an Altar, That upon all their ſtages there was an Alter ſacred to *Bacchus*, is apparant out of *Donat:* he ſaies it ſtood on one ſide of the ſtage, before the doores, *Pollux:* who names it Ἀγυιεύς. There was moreover a Table called ἐλεός, on which before the time of *Theſpis* ſome body aſcending in the Poets place, did anſwer the *Chorus*. [p] *Plutarch* thinks θυμέλην to be derived from θύειν, becauſe that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Muſick* only for inſtitution of youth and praiſe of their Gods, ſung the commendation of good men, and honour of their Deities in Temples.

[n] Ariſtoph. p. 578.

[o] Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 202.

[p] De Muſica. p. 441.

LIBER TERTIUS.

CAP. I.

De Legum latoribus Atticis. [illegible] *De sanciendis Legibus.*

As [a] *Justin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government, passing by the perpetuall & decennial Consuls, and naming only the yearly: so hath he erred in the originall of their Lawes, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seems otherwise. For, as [b] *Gerardus* hath observed, *Theseus* gave Lawes to the *Athenians*. And [c] *Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick* people, and constituted a *Democracie*, he reserved onely to himselfe the government of war and custodie of the Lawes. δημοκρατίαν (παρέχεσθαι) αὐτὸ μόνον ἄρχοντι πολέμου καὶ νόμων φύλακι χρησομένην. Adde to this, that before the knowledg of letters and writing, it was a custome among the ancients to sing their Laws, lest they might forget them, used in the daies of [d] *Aristotle* by the *Agathyrsi*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rules

[a] Lib. 2. p. 27.

[b] Arist. Plut. pap. 67.

[c] In Theseo p. 8. l. 2.

[d] Problem. τμ. ιθ΄. ἀρ. κη. fol. 189. b.

rules of Muſick, for the orderly keeping of time, ſinging and playing, are ſuppoſed to be called Νόμοι e. Neither may it be thought otherwiſe, becauſe all the notes of the Lydian, Hypolydian, &c. Dorick, Hypodorick, &c. Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick, &c. ſongs were diſtinguiſhed by the Alphabet. Yet f Plutarch is of opinion, that they derived the word from thoſe bounds, which the Muſicians of old preſcribed, for the tuning of voices on inſtruments, leſt they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it [illegible] g Νόμοι γὰρ προσηγορεύθησαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξῆν [illegible] τῆς τάσεως. The Greeks, ſaies h Cicero, think the cauſe of this word, quòd ſuum cuique tribuendum, intimating k νέμειν, which ſignifies to diſtribute; becauſe the Law gives every man his due. This ſheweth, that there were Lawes of yore, let i Juſtin ſay Nullæ civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur, That the Citie was without Law, becauſe the will of Kings were Lawes. In ſucceeding ages, and before Solon too, Draco gave Lawes, living about the three hundred and ninth Olympiad. His Acts, ſaies l Ælian, were called θεσμοί. [illegible] Now θεσμὸς, by m Ulpian is interpreted [illegible] A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet n Ariſtotle calls them νόμοι, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great ſeverity. Which gave occaſion to a Herodicus to ſay, that they were not the Lawes of man, but δράκοντος, in a double ſenſe of the word, which is alſo put for a Dragon. And b Demades, that they were not written with black, but bloud. For he puniſhed every peccadillo almoſt with death, thoſe that were convicted of idleneſſe, or ſtealing of potherbs alike the ſacrilegious and man-ſlayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by Solon. For he abrogated all, except thoſe which concerned murther, intituled ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him ſucceeded * Solon, a man ſo well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of both

e Vide Alypium in Iſagoge Muſica.
f In libro de Muſica.
g Loco citato pag. 437.
h De leg. lib. 1 fol. 16 b.
i Loco laudat.
k Clem. Alex. p. 226.
l Variæ hiſt. l.8.c.10.
m Arg. orat. con. Lepti.
n Polit. 2.c.10.
a Ariſt. Rhet. l. 2.c.44.
b Plut. in Solone. p.63.l.2.
* Demoſth. p.70.
* His lawes continued 100 yeares ſaies Plutarch in ſtrength. In Solone p.66. & afterward by little and little decayed. Ælian. Var. hiſt. l.2.c.22. If any ſpake againſt them, he had corporall puniſhment.

both, having ſtill a care; leſt while he ſhould ſide with one, he might diſpleaſe the other. Whom, for his uprightneſſe, c *Juvenal* ſtiles *Juſtum*, and for the care of the Republique, which d *Demoſthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes, e *Ariſtophanes* termes, *φιλόδημον*, a lover of the people. f *Plato* brings him learning his Lawes from a *Barbarian*. And g *Plutarch* tels us that he travelled afterwards into *Ægypt*. But it ſeemes by h *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgment of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. *Et Solon adjutus ſententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis juſto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Juri maximum addidit firmamentum.* i *Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. Firſt, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the Governours of the countries their names written, and by what meanes they ſuſtained themſelves; wherein if any were found falſe, or that lived by unjuſt gaine, hee fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a cuſtome among them, that payment ſhould be made onely with the goods of the debtor, and that the body ſhould not ſuffer. For they thought the eſtate alone to be ſubject to the creditor, the bodie addicted to the Citie in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergoe hazard for their country, ſhould for uſure be committed to priſon, or the country be in jeopardie for the avarice of ſome one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the firſt decree, as k *Laertius* and l *Plutarch* ſay, of freeing the bodies, which, if there were not wherewithall to ſatisfie the craving loaner, were compelled to ſerve. He therfore cut off all *uſe*, a as ſome write, or elſe b leſſened the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his Law Σεισάχθεια: ſo called from Σείειν, to ſhake off, and ἄχθος, an heavy weight. Forgiving himſelfe firſt, c as *Laertius*, ſeaven talents; or, as d *Plutarch*, five. But this ſeemes to have been done for the avoiding of the aſperſion caſt upon him as acceſſarie to the injuries of ſome, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

c Sat. 10. verſ. 274.
d Κατὰ [illegible] Pag. 390.
e Pag. 190.
f In Timæo.
g In Solone. p. 66. l. 31.
h Lib. 22.
i Bibliotheca.
k Initio vitæ Solonis.
l In Solone p. 62. l. 8.
a Plutarch. p. 62.
b Androtio.
c Loco laud.
d Pag. 62. *fifteene ſaies* Polyzelus Rhodius.

much mony with hope of never making reſtitution. e *Caſaubon* is conceited, that this was not his firſt exploit, but long after he had ſate at the ſterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it ſeems probable; There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, then to give liberty to the common people. Which he, to bring in an innovation of Lawes, did willingly invent, and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in teſtimony of their approbation, they kept a Feſtival named f Σεισάχθεια. Here likewiſe may you obſerve the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their own vices, putting gilded names on thoſe things; which themſelves were aſhamed of, calling g πόρνας, ἑταίρας, φόρους, συντάξεις, φυλακὰς, φρουρὰς τῶν πόλεων, δεσμωτήριον οἴκημα &c. as our blades name drunkenneſſe good fellowſhip; whores, ſhe ſinners; and niggardiſe, thriftineſſe; ſpringing from this root of *Solons*, who called χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν Σεισάχθειαν. h To theſe Lawes two ends were propoſed, mutual commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the ſtate. i To curb wickedneſſe, and unjuſtice, and to puniſh offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the *Athenian* Civil Law. Each Citie, as k *Juſtinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam ſi quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit.* They were engraven in tables of wood called ἄξονας, triangular, if we may believe the m Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, who quotes *Ariſtotle* and *Apollodorus*, witneſſing that they were called κύρβεις alſo, παρὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεταμένον, from the elevation. n Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods and their worſhip were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Lawes belonging to men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* ſayes that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, because they were written in ſtone, and ſo ſet up, a which from their ſtanding, were termed στῆλαι. I know that decrees, merits, praiſe and diſpraiſe too, were written in ſtone. Whence b λόγος στηλιτευτικὸς may be put for a Treatiſe

N tending

e In Laert. p. 14.

f Plutarch. p. 62. l. 43.

g Plutarch. loco laudato.

h Demoſt p. 477.

i Idem p. 484.

k Inſtitut l. 1. Tit. 2. Sed ius quidem civile ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Athenienſium,

l Sch. Apollo. Rho. Argo. 4.

m In Avibus pag. 604.

n Vide Plut. pag. 66.

a ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑστάναι.

b Vide Nonnum in Naz. στηλίτα,

tending to a mans diſgrace. But this by the way. Theſe Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, tranſlated afterwards to th *Prytanæum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the daies of c *Plutarch*, ſome reliques of them were to be ſeen. The *Autographon* or coppy written with his own hand was not removed, but thoſe that were tranſcribed by them. Becauſe in matters of doubt and controverſie they might have recourſe unto them. * For the diſtinction of which, ſome think that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος is uſed in *Demoſthenes* for that in the *Prytanæum*. Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me it ſeems improbable, for then the number of the Table ought to be ci- ted; and indeed, one Table ſometime could not containe a Law. For we read in d *Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cu in the thirteenth Table. I am not averſe from the gheſſe of *Petitus*, who ſuppoſes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of ſome who think that it is to be underſtood of the under line. For the Lawes being written βουστροφηδὸν, *converſo ſive retrogra* *literarum ordine*, ſaies e *Sylburgius*; which f *Pauſanias* ex plaines, ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν, from the right hand to the lef g or more ſignificantly, ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἔπους ἐπιστρέφει τὸ ἐπι τὸ δεύτερον, ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλου δρόμῳ. When the ſecond verſe be gins at the end of the former, as in the race which they ca *Diaulus*, or if I ſhall ſpeak neareſt to the word, as husban men turne their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ See thoſe that have written of dive
·ΥΘΣΣΗΜΩΧ waies of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtle there was ſome cuſtomes as ſtrong as Lawes. For althou the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of cuſtome, and th *Athenians* by written ſtatutes, as b *Joſephus*, yet ſurely ha their cuſtomes great force, inſomuch as i *Ariſtophanes* u νόμος for ἔθος -- ἀρχαῖος νόμος [illegible]. a *Scholiaſter*. νόμον [illegible] οὐ πάντα τὸ γεγραμμένον φησὶν ἀλλὰ ἔθος. So did the b *Gre* divi

c In Solone pag. 66.

* Pollux. l. 8. pag. 408.

d Solone pag. 63. l. 37.

e In Pauſaniam, p. 426.

f In Eliacis pag. 174.

g Eodem lib. pag. 165.

b Contra Apionem. Vide Juſtinianum. Juſt. l. 1. tit. 2.

i In Avibus pag. 576.

a Pag. 577.

b Vide Juſtinianum.

divide their Lawes into ἐγγράφους καὶ ἀγράφους, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *ſine ſcripto jus venit, quod uſus approbavit*, uſe. The [c] Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus. Νόμος ἐστὶν ἔγγραφος συνήθεια, συνήθεια δὲ ἄγραφος νόμος. A Law is a written cuſtome, and a cuſtome an unwritten law. Beſides theſe there were decrees, which they termed ψηφίσματα, *pſephiſmata*, a word uſed by [d] *Cicero*, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν οἱ νόμοι. [e] *Demoſthenes*, who meanes in vertue and power. For they differ much. [f] A Law maintaines juſtice once found, common for ever. A *Pſephiſma* followes the neceſſity of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not warlike affaires, but is applied unto the occaſion of armes, and as lawes can be abrogated, ſo degrees changed. And here ought we to note, [g] that no decree is greater then a Law. Of decrees there were two ſorts; [h] τῆς βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, ſuch as the Senate by it ſelfe eſtabliſhed, which were but of twelve moneths continuance; to the confirming of which, the people were not convocated, or their conſent required, termed [i] προβουλεύματα, which *Demoſthenes* proves to be ἐπέτεια, *Ulpian*. ἐπ᾽ ἐνιαυτόν. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which laſted but a year. [k] *Cicero*. *Qui plurimum tribuunt edicto, Prætoris edictum legem annuam eſſe dicunt*. In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked, for the giving of the Authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time. [l] τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γινόμενα, καὶ πλείονα εἶχεν χρόνον. And thereſore we may eaſily know a *probuleuma* from a decree of the peoples confirming, by this obſervation. Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ only, gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma*. Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, in the beginning of a decree, ſhewes it to be ψήφισμα παρὰ δήμου κῦρος λαμβάνον. The Senate alwaies ſate in conſultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any dammage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law commanding that no decree ſhould goe forth without deliberation. [m] μὴ ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα μὴ εἰσφέρεσθαι εἰς τὸν δῆμον. Which done, the *Prytaneis* took certain Tables and wrote on them

[c] In Aiacem Locarium.

[d] In Orat. pro Flacco.

[e] Cont Lept. p.296

[f] Ariſtides. Tom. 2 p.30.

[g] Demoſthen pag.416.

[h] Demoſth. κατ᾽ Ἀριστοκρ- τους. p.417.

[i] Vlp. in Dem. p.418.

[k] In Verr. 1.

[l] Ulpian loco laudato.

[m] Ulp. in Arg. Orat. And. p.181. Vide Dem. p.182 n.10. v1. Plut. Solone. p.63. l.31.

Such or ſuch a day about ſuch a time there ſhould be an aſſembly to conſult of theſe and theſe affaires: and this they called [a] *πρόγραμμα*. When then they were aſſembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, ſtood, if not, decayed. It was forbidden that any ſhould raz out a Decree of any Table. And he was brought in queſtio of life, who ſhould preſume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now becauſe future time might haply percei ſome inconveniences to ariſe by overſight in their Law giver, and that as abuſes ſhould happen, which in his daies wer not diſcerned, ſo there would be a neceſſity of making ne ſtatutes: It was ordained therefore that every year the ſhould be *ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων*; which [b] *Ulpian* expound *διάσκεψις, τί δεῖ ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν νόμων.* A conſideration of wha ought to be done concerning the Lawes. [c] The manner w thus. Every Eleventh day of *July* in the aſſembly, after th Cryer had made his Prayers, as his faſhion was, and ſhall an be ſpoken of, the Lawes were red over in order. Firſt tho which concerned their Senate, next the weale-publique, an thirdly the nine *Archons*, & afterwards the other Magiſtrat Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for th Senate, and ſo for the Common-weal, &c. If any of th Lawes in force were to be abrogated, it was adjournied un the laſt of the three dayes of the three Convocations. On whi the *Prytanes*, appointed for the reviſing and reciting of th Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chie of the Aſſembly, were to [d] acquaint them with it. Five m at the firſt meeting, were choſen out of all the *Athenian* who ſhould patronize the Law to be aboliſhed; and acco ding to the Judgment of the *Nomothetæ*, choſen out of th Councel of five hundred, was the buſineſſe carried, that th Lawes ſhould be of none effect, or full ſtrength. Whoſoev would bring in a new Law, was to write it in a Table, [e] *εἰς λεύκωμα*, *Demoſthenes*, the forme thereof, and ſet it up at the St tutes of the *Heroes* before ſpoken of, [f] *πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμ*

which

[a] Sch. in Naz. στηλ. α pag. 55. vid. Ulp. in Dem. p. 240.

[b] Demoſt. p. 445.

[c] Vid. Dem. loco cit.

[d] χρηματίζειν Demoſthen. Ulp. expounds ἀποβάλλειν. *to report.*

[e] Cont. Timocr. p. 446.

[f] Demoſth. p. 297.

which ſtanding in a place conſpicuous, that ſome certaine daies before the Seſſions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; and if any ſo pleaſed, he might at the propoſal of the Law declare his mind either for, or againſt it, as at the preferring of *a Bill in our high Court of Parliament*, where it is not denied any *Burges*, or *Knight* of a ſhire, to ſpeak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill, or ſome part thereof, or in oppoſition to it, or ſome one clauſe. Provided likewiſe, that he, who attempted to enact a new Statute, ſhould take care for the diſanulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwiſe he came within the compaſſe of παρανομίας γραφῆς, a writ of *Tranſgreſſion of the Lawes*: which was of two ſorts. First, when time is not obſerved in writing them, [a] παρὰ τὸν ἐπιτήδειον χρόνον. Next when one is made that adverſe to a former. And if it ſo hapned, that any perſwaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publique, he might be queſtioned within [b] a yeares ſpace; [c] but if the time was expired, he could not. [d] Nay, they ſlew *Eudemus*, a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; ſcarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom, he that would propoſe a Law ſhould do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his requeſt pleaſed not, he ſtraight way powred out his ſoule under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators, which are called [e] δημαγωγοὶ, becauſe they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learn out of [f] *Demoſthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by [g] *Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράψαντες.

[a] Vlp. in Dem. p. 297.

[b] Dem. Orat. Arg. con. Leptinem.

[c] Dem. p. 419.

[d] Idem p. 468.

[e] Gellius l. 3. c. 13. Iſ. Calliſtratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi δημαγωγοὺς appellant. Livie Dec. 4. of Athens. ubi Oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. Vlpian. δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων.

[f] Pag. 468. n. 225.

[g] Dipnoſ. l. 12.

CAP. II.

De Comitiis. Κυρία & Σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία, &c.

THe Aſſemblies were called by the *Prytaneis* foure times in five and thirty dayes. [f] In the firſt they confirmed

[f] Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. Pag. 398.

med the Magiſtrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwiſe they put them out. They heard publique cauſes, looked into confiſcate goods, and poſſeſſions left by inheritance. In the ſecond, any one with leave might freely ſpeak of private and publique affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambaſſadours, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytaneis*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, ſuch as belonged to their Gods and worſhip of them. The firſt meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*; the ſecond the twentieth; the third the thirtieth; the fourth the three and thirtieth. I find a difference between the [g] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* and *Ulpian* in the daies on which they came together, one making the firſt day of the Moneth to be the day on which the firſt Aſſembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which ſeems trueſt. And whereas they both write that every Moneth there were three lawful aſſemblies, to wit, on the firſt, tenth, thirtieth; or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not ſo to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytaneis* charge to congregate the people. They ſeem to have been called Κυρίαι Ἐκκλησίαι, becauſe in them they did κυρεῖν ψηφίσματα, eſtabliſh decrees, as the [a] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*. Other aſſemblies there were which are termes [b] σύγκλητοι, when war, or any ſudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over and above thoſe foure times in a *Prytanea*. They are ſtyled σύγκλητοι, becauſe the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation, ſome went about the City and called them. There is likewiſe [c] κατακλησία, when they were ſummoned out of the fields to goe to the Aſſembly. It ſeems to me that the Crier in the ſtreets on their lawful Aſſemblies gave ſome token when they ſhould haſten; and ſo much [d] *Ariſtophanes* witneſſes, bringing in the women ſpeaking that it is high time to be ſtirring, becauſe the Cryer—δεύτερον κεκόκκυκεν, had cryed the ſecond time. And indeed need was there of ſome warning

g In Achar. pag.371.
b In Dem. p. 445.

a In Acharn.
b Ulp. & Sch. Ariſt. loc. laud.

c Pol. p. 405

d In concionantib. p. 725.

warning,and compulſion too; for ſo ſlow were they in comming to aſſemblies,that the *Logiſtæ* were faine to throng them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Ariſtophanes* on theſe words,[e] Τὰς δ' ἱμάντας ἐκ λειμῶν. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they ſent two ſlaves into the market place,who ſhould one of the one ſide of the way,and the other of the oppoſite, purſue the people,and to whoſe chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certaine peece of money. Hence in the [f] Comœdian— Κἄνω κ, κάτω τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμιλτωμένον. Up and down they ſhun the cord ſtained with Vermilion. And again--ἡ μίλτος ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε γέλων παρέσχεν ἣν περιέῤῥαινον κύκλῳ. *Jupiter,* the red earth which flew about made laughter. [g] Sometimes would they take Hurdles, and barracado all the ſtreets except thoſe that led to the *Eccleſia*: Sometimes take away all their ſaleable wares which they brought into the Market, leſt people intent on their traffique ſhould abſent themſelves from the Aſſemblies. When they had met oft times the company would be diſmiſſed at ſome prodigious ſigne, as thunder, lightning, tempeſt, and the like, which they called [h] Διοσημεῖαι: [i] and earthquakes, or other occaſions, deferring the Aſſemblies meeting until the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to ſit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called [a] Εἰσιτήρια, becauſe they were done at the entry of the Councel. [b] *Ulpian.* περιηγεῖτο γὰρ εἰσιούσης τῆς βουλῆς ὁ τὰς θυσίας ποιούμενος. I will not juſtly ſay that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was ſate, and yet I may preſume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets [c] *Ariſtophanes* witneſſing that immediatly preceding the Seſſions this cuſtome was obſerved by one,whom they named περιστίαρχος, from περιστία, τὰ καθάρσια, which ſignifies cleanſing, becauſe by that he purged the Aſſembly, Theater, and congreſſe of the people. After they were ſate, [d] the Cryer did pray for the good of the people,[e] and curſed thoſe who ſhould offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this,he ſpeaks with a lowd voice, *f* Τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; Who will make a ſpeech; whereupon one of the *g* Elders aroſe that gave his verdict, it bein not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reveren hoary head had ſpent his judgment. Whence by *h Demoſthenes* they are ſtiled οἱ εἰωθότες, thoſe that were wont to orate. After they had finiſhed their ſaying, others had leave to declare themſelves. Neither muſt we omit the faſhion they ha to exclude all private men from their Aſſemblies ſometimes, when the Senate alone ſate, or the *Areopagitical* Councel; ſometimes to debarre all ſervants, ſtrangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at othe times they admitted, and then was it called *i* ἀπαμφάδιον βήμ καὶ τὸ θέατρον, an open Theater to all commers. The place o meeting was called Πνὺξ, *Pnyx*, ἀπὸ τοῦ πυκνᾶσθαι ἀν δρα αὐτῇ; from the frequent concurſe of people there. It ſtood o a rock, and therefore by *Ariſtophanes* is called πέτρα. 345. Sch ὀρεινὴ γοῦν. There was a ſtipend for them that came to Aſſemblies, as you may ſee in *Demoſth. contra Timoc.* And Βοιωτὸν περὶ ὀνόματος. Becauſe they might be at leaſure witho dammage. *Ariſtot. Pol.* 1. *c.* 13. They aſſembled alſo in *Pyræ* *Ulp. in Dem.*

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[e] In Achar. p. 406.

[f] Ariſtoph. Achar. p. 371.

[g] Schol. Ariſt. loco laudato.

[h] Vide Ariſt. pag. 379.

[i] Plut. pag. 386. l. 7. & 384. l. 34.

[a] Demoſth. παραπρεσβ. 241.

[b] Vide & Vlpian. p. 351.

[c] In Concion pag. 728. A.

[d] Demoſth. παραπρεσβ. 213.

[e] Id p. 41.8.

f Alcidamas *Ariſtoph.* p. 372. Diod. Sic. l. 15.
g Demoſth. p. 29. Æſchines contra Creſ. initio.
h Philippic. 1.

i Plut p. 552. L. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT: I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πεντακοσίων.

WHen the mutinie between the faction of *Meg cles* and *Cylo* diſturbed the *Attick* Common-weal *Solon* perſwaded the people that thoſe, whom for their aud citie in drawing away the ſuppliants from the Altars th named ἐναγεῖς, ſhould undergoe judgment, there were cho ſen *k* three hundred men, ἀριστίνδην, according to their wort to ſit upon the caſe. But theſe were not a perpetual judicato rie. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of t

k Plut, Solone, *p.* 60. l. 31.

uſur

uſurie mony, then was the Grand Councell ordained; out of every Tribe, which were then but foure, an hundred choſen, who by their advice ſhould direct the people in thoſe things which were to be handled leſt any thing ſhould be inducted, or propoſed to the Aſſembly without due conſideration. Who from their office in a *Democracie*, [m] *Ariſtotle* ſayes are more properly called πρόβουλοι, but where the Rout rules, βουλή. But when *Cliſthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed ὁ καταστησάμενος τὴν πολιτείαν, had augmented the number of the Tribes from four to ten, eighty ſix years after *Solon's* Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled tenne times make up the ſumme. This Councell by *Ariſtotle* is deſcribed μάλιστα κυρία πάντων, *The Miſtreſſe of all the reſt*, and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἄνω βουλὴ in [a] *Plutarch* is to be underſtood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were above the Senate, but as inſtituted firſt by *Solon*, and ſo related by the Author. And yet I know [b] one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quam officio ſecundum poſt Areopagitas locum obtinuere.* To this Councell none was choſen under thirty years of age, which time is ſtiled βουλευτικὴ ἡλικία by [c] *Libanius*. And doubtleſſe [d] *Plutarch* juſtifies it, ſpeaking that *Demoſthenes* wrote his Orations againſt *Androtio*, *Timocrates*, *Ariſtocrates*, ὑπὸ τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσεληλυθώς, when he had not attained to the managing of ſtate buſineſſe, becauſe he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is [e] *Junius*, who ſaies that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very wiſe to Magiſtracy or Councell. Nay the [f] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* tels us, that green heads were not permitted to ſpeak publikely. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as ſome ſay (which is trueſt) thirty, on theſe words.

Κἀγὼ παρθένος γ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ὤν, οὐκ ἐξῆν πω μοι τεκεῖν.

Which to bee otherwiſe underſtood by ſome, is not hidden from me. They were called likewiſe Ἡλιασταὶ, as well as Πεντακόσιοι, and their Tribunall Ἡλιαία, from the word [g] ἁλίζεσθαι, which

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[m] Polit.l.6,c.8.

[a] In Solone p. 63.

[b] Poſſardus. *falſe: for* Pauſanias *calls it* μέγιστον. in Att. p.27.l.15.

[c] In Arg. orat. cont. Androt.

[d] Vita decem Rhet.p.378.

[e] Stobæus ſerm.112.

[f] In Nub.p. 157.

[g] Ulp.in Demoſ.p.445.

which ſignifies to throng together, becauſe the People wer frequent there. But the more probable reaſon is, h ἐκ τῦ ὕπαιθρον ἦν ὁ τόπος καὶ ὁ ἥλιος εἶχεν εἰς αὐτὸν προσβάλλειν, becauſe the plac was open and expoſed to the Sunne. And in reſpect of th i *Ariſtophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didym* ἐν τῇ πυκν᾽ ὄρθριον, ἡλιαστὰς πρὸς Ἥλιον, *In the morning thou ſha* ἡλιάζειν, in the Sun-ſhine. At their admiſſion they had th Oath given them. k ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, &c. *I will giv Sentence according to the Lawes and Decrees of the People of A*-*thens, and Counsel of Five hundred; I will not conſent to be Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchy: Neither ſhall my approba be to any that will diſſolve the Democracy of* Athens *by Speech Decree. I will not cut off private uſe, or ſuffer a diviſion of th Athenian Lands or Houſes. I will not bring back exil'd Men, those that are condemned. I will not thruſt out of the City innocent against the Lawes and Statutes of the Athenians and S nate of Five hundred: neither by my ſelf, or ſuffer any other. will not create a Magiſtrate, who hath not given an accoun his former Office, whether of the nine Archons, or Agents fo Holy things, or they, who at the ſame day are choſen with the Archons by lot, Ambaſſadors and Aſſiſtants. Neither ſhall ſame Man bear the ſame Office twice, or two in one Year. I not take Gifts for Judgement, neither my ſelf or other for me, others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not yonger th thirty. I will hear both Parties, the Accuſer and Defendant I will paſſe Judgement aright on the thing proſecuted. I Sw by* Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is alſo another O which they took; ſome Clauſes whereof, we have left in R cord. *To ratifie the Laws of* Solon: Plutarch *in* Solone, p 62. *To give Counſel for the beſt of the People. To adviſe ac ding to the Laws. I will not binde any Athenian who ſhall g three Sureties of the ſame Revenues, unleſs for Treaſon, or he c ſpire the ſubverſion of State Popular, or buy Cuſtom, or be gaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will ſit in th order which lot ſhall direct me to, I will not permit any unleſs*

niſh

h Ulp. loc. laudato, vide & Ariſtoph. Sc. p. 436.

i *Pag.* 486.

k Dem. Orat. cont. Tim.

† *If I tranſgreſs any of theſe, let me and my houſe periſh; but if I faithfully keep them according to my oath, let us be happy and proſperous.* Dem. p. 470.

niſhed; to be accuſed or impriſoned for what is paſt. This laſt was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants; when *Thraſybulus* gave them to Oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηστίαν. The authority of this Councel was great, for it handled cauſes of War, Tributes, making of Laws, civil buſineſſes and events, affairs of Confederates, collections of Money, performance of ſacred Rites, accounts of Offices diſcharged, appointing Keepers for Priſoners, and δοκιμασία of Orphans, as *Xenophon.* ᶜ Reſembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whoſe conſent all Laws are abrogated, new made, right and poſſeſſions of private men changed, forms of Religion eſtabliſhed, Subſidies, Tails, Taxes, and Impoſitions appointed, Waights and Meaſures altered, *&c.* As not unlike alſo the *Venetian Gran Conſiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarene.* ᵈ *Tutta la cura del Governo della Republica appertiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common-wealths Government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority and Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Commonwealth at their appointment collected and gathered in, and likewiſe laid out again and defrayed, *&c.* In a word, I may ſay of the Five hundred, as ᵃ *Budæus* of the Parliament of *France*: *Ampliſſimam eam curiam cauſarúmque omne genus diſceptatricem juſtam ac legitimam eſſe*, that that Court is moſt ample, and juſtly and equally deſided all ſorts of Controverſies whatſoever. ᵇ To their Charge was committed the making of new Ships, for which at the Years end they were to be rewarded by the People. To this alludes ᶜ *Ariſtophanes.* Ποδαπὸν τὸ γένος; Ἐν οἶδεν ἂν [illegible] Βα. Μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, — ᵈ without their conſent could the People do nought, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* againſt the Peoples wills. Hence in ᵉ *Demoſthenes*, τ' Βουλὴν ποιήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κυρίαν. In teſtimony of their preheminence are they termed ᶠ Κύριοι, ψήφου. and ᵍ οἱ αὐτοὶ κύριοι. The Lords of *Sentence.* In

a Vide Xeno. in Ἑλλην. Cic. init. Phil. 1. Velleium Paterculum. l. 2. p. 84. Ariſt. Sch. in πλ. Æſchin. cont. Cteſiph.

b Athen Rep. pag. 407.

See Sir Tho: Smith *in the Common-wealth of England.*

d *As* Eranchirio *Anditimi hath tra*ſ*lated it.* lib. 3. fol. 34. B.

a In Pandect. Prio. p. 298.

b Dem. p. 385.

c *Avib.* p. 546.

d Sch. *Ariſt.* p. 93.

e Pag. 234.

f Demoſth. περὶ Ἀνδ.

g Idem κατὰ Μειδίου.

[h] Plut. in Cimone p. 356. l. 50.

time of warre they would ſend Commiſſions to their Captaines, as they thought requiſite. [h] Such as in the battaile betweene the *Lacedemonians* and their Countrymen in *Tanagra*, where fearing leſt *Cimon*, baniſhed by *Oſtraciſme*, ſhould betray them to the *Laconians*, they ſent to the Commanders not to entertaine him in the Army. This honour was not during terme of life, but every yeare changed. *Apoſtolius*. ἡ μὲν τῶν πεντακοσίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν κληρουμένη Βουλή. Which *Anonymus in Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expreſſes by κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διαδέχεται. The manner of chooſing them is this.

[i] Verbo Emmius in Deſcript. Reip. Athen.

[i] The chiefe of every Tribe, on an appointed day before the beginning of the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that were capable of this dignitie; and caſt them written into a veſſell, and into another they put an hundred white Beanes; and all the reſt blacke; Then drawing out a Name, and then a Beane, to whoſe chance the white Beane fell to be extracted with his Name, was deſigned Senator. This they did when they had but foure Tribes, and ſo foure hundred Senatours. But when they had tenne Tribes there could bee but fifty white Beanes, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election obſerved by the [k] *Venetians* upon the fourth day of *December*, when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor paſſed twenty five yeares old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince, and there the ſame ſet before the Councellors, with which there is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written in the firſt, every one having his markes: the fift part of theſe balls is gilded with gold, the reſt with ſilver. The Prince taketh out of the firſt pot the ball, which if it be of the golden ſort, the young man whoſe name is drawne, is preſently admitted to publique authority; they to whom the ſilver chance, loſe it for that time, expecting it the enſuing year, unleſſe in the meane ſpace they accompliſh twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake

[k] Contaren. l. 1. fol. 11. b.

of the Cities liberties. So every yeare the fift part of the yonkers is choſen to give voice with the other Citizens. The uſe in chooſing I deem the ſame, and ſhall untill I find authentike Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Cliſthenes* according to their Tribes, ſo by his ſucceſſors. For when they added two, the number was encreaſed an hundred, by reaſon of the Tribes *Antigonis* and *Demetrias*, after named *Attalis* and *Ptolemais* in honour to the Kings of that name which were Benefactours to the State; *a* ὅθεν καὶ τὴν βουλὴν πεντακοσίων οὖσαν, ἑξακοσίων ἐποίησαν. *b* Out of theſe were their Judges choſen; but ſuch as were about threeſcore years old. For although juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age. εἰσήρχοντο μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐκ ἐδίκαζον δέ. To theſe was any buſineſſe referred, of which the Senate and people were in ſuſpenſe what to determine. *c Ariſtoph.* Ἔστι δ᾽ ἡ Βουλὴ χ᾽ ὁ δῆμος ὅταν κρῖναι μέγα πρᾶγμ᾽ ἀπορήσῃ, ἐψήφισται τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τοῖσι δικασταῖς παραδοῦναι. When the Councell and people are in doubt how to judge a great matter, They decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And no marvell. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κρίνειν, prerogative in ſentence, ſayes *d Ariſtotle*, that is, to ſtate thoſe Queſtions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving ſentence before the third yeare of the ninety ſecond Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they ſate by turne in their own Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly tenne Tribes in *Athens*, they choſe out of each five men, and to which one of them the chance happened, he ſate Judge. I cannot ſay that the manner of Election was like that of the *e Syracuſans* concerning the Prieſt of *Jupiter*, who taking the names of ſo many as were nominated, and caſting them into a pot, created him whoſe name ſhould be firſt drawn, of that ſacred Function. But of our own muſt I ſpeake. *f* When then they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with him a Table and a Wand on which was written a Letter that did betoken ſome Judicatory (For there being ten Tribunals

a Stephanus περὶ πόλ.

b Ariſt. Schol. p. 37.

c In Veſpis. p. 471.

d Pol. l. 3. c. 11. περὶ ὧν ὁ νόμος ἀδυνατεῖ διορίζειν.

e Cic. in Verrem. Act. 3.

f Ariſtophan. πλ. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red Letter, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, *&c.* to Κ. over the door) time calling them to ſit, they drew lots, and he to whom A was taken out, ſate in the Court noted with A, and B with B, and ſo to K. This done, they ſhewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did, leſt any ſhould raſhly attempt to ſit, and pervert Juſtice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority a wand or ſtaff: becauſe that [g] Βακτηρία καὶ σῆμα καὶ τριβώνιον ἢ τριώβολον, was a Proverb uſed in diriſion of the Iudges.[h] This ſtaff at the days end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the [a] Scholiaſt teaches us otherways, ſaying, that the *Demagôgi* paid them, it being manifeſt out of *Cleon's* Words the Oratour, Ω γέροντες Ηλιαςαὶ, φράτερες τριωβόλε, Οὓς ἐγὼ βόσκω.-- *Iudges which I feed.* Their pay was not always the ſame, ὐχ ἴςατο, [b] ſays the Interpreter of *Ariſtophanes*. Firſt, they had *obolum*, which *Caliſtratus*, ſurnamed *Parnytes*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb [c] Οβολὸν ἦρξε Παρνύτης. Afterwards it was augmented by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word ὑπὲρ τὰ Καλλικράτους, it may be for a pretty ſum of money. Nay it changed, for now I read of Οβολὸς Ηλιαςικὸς one, and anon τριώβολον three, a [e] *Drachme* to two. And therefore may we conclude that it was ſometime more, ſometimes leſs. Thus having ſpoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their caſes of Law, in which I ſhall adde.

When any had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their cuſtom to make their caſes known to a Magiſtrate, whoſe office it was to report to the Iudicatory. And this they did by a Table, in which it was written, [f] Κατηγορῶ τοῦδε καὶ προσκαλοῦμαι τοῦτον διὰ τοῦ δεῖνος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuſe H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceeding, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magiſtrate before the accuſation; to which [g] *Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros veſtraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt*— when this Note was given up, the Magiſtrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had witneſſes

[g] Suidas proverb.

[h] Sch. Ariſtop. πλ. 30.

[a] In Equites. pag. 301.

[b] In Nubes pag 174.

[c] Appendix Vaticana.

[d] Zenobius.

[e] Sch. Ariſtop. pag. 487.

[f] Vlp. in Dem. p. 343.

[g] Aſinaria Act. 1. p. 54.

witneſſes, and would proſecute the matter, who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon Authority to ſummon the Defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himſelf, or other, called therefore κλητὴρ, b for κλῆσις ἐςὶν ἡ εἰς τ̃ δίκην εἰσαγωγή, a bringing into ſuit. καλοῦνται γὰρ εἰς δικαςήρια. The word ſignifies a witneſs alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they had any that ſtood by to teſtifie that they had admoniſhed them. i Κλητῆρες δὲ οἱ καλοῦντες εἰς τὸ δικαςήριον πάντας· σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις καὶ τ̃ μάρτυρα. You may uſe κλητὴρ for an Apparator, Sergeant, Bailiff, or the like. Sometimes they would run ſtreight to the Court, as it were headlong, in k *Demoſthenes* his phraſe, ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of l *Ariſtophanes*. Κᾆθ' εἷλκον αὐτὸν— But if the party could put in two ἀξιόχρεων, ſufficient to Bail, he was diſmiſſed. Hence in the m Comœdian. Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητάς σοι καταςήσω δύο ἀξιόχρεως. *I will procure thee a couple of able Sureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a Week or more, after the *vocationem in jus*, at which time, if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Judgement-ſeat, he came within compaſs of Ἐρήμης, *a Writ of Eremodicium*, refuſal to come in and anſwer, Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ οὖσα in tenne days after. For when the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *indictâ cauſâ*, ſo a *Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμης καταδικασθῆναι, by this therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at firſt, the Sentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ οὖσα, b ὅτι πρότερον δικῶσα ἦν καὶ κεκυρωμένη, ὕςερον εἰς τὸ μὴ ἦν περιίςαται, *becauſe in the beginning it ſeemed to carry ſome power, but at laſt was nothing.* The buſineſſe then made anew, the party that was caſt by an ἐρήμη after that he had obtained a μὴ οὖσα, was c within two Moneths to ſet the Law on foot, which they term ἀντιλαχεῖν δίκην, or elſe the ſentence given before was ratified. Whoſoever ſhould offer to call any man to the Court, unleſſe upon good grounds, was

liable

b Sch. Ariſt. 190.

i Sch. Ariſt. P. 442.

k ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ δικαςήριον βαδίζειν. p. 596. n. 17.

l In Veſpis pag. 487.

m Ariſt. Concio. p. 755.

a In prioris & Poſt. No. ad Pand.

b Vlp. in Dem. p. 343.

c Pollux. l. 8. P. 390.

liable to ψευδοκλητείας δίκη, a Writ of moleſtation for a falſe cauſe. Having thus farre proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the ſumme of the Defendants anſwer. This the Greeks call *d* Ἀντιγραφὴν, *Antigraphen.* Though I know alſo, that all caſes in Law were termed *e* ἐγκλήματα, κατηγορίαι. They tooke this courſe becauſe the Defendant might know what to anſwer. And becauſe it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuſe out of envy, which is συκοφαντεῖν, they made a *f* Law, that whoſoever accuſed and had not the fiſt part of the voices, ſhould be fined a thouſand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was alſo puniſhed in the purſe a certaine ſumme, *g* which if he paid not at the conſtituted time, was fourfold; and if his abilitie reached not ſo farre, he ſuffered impriſonment. At the preſenting of the *Antigraphe*, teſtimonies were alſo delivered (formes of which you ſhall often meet with in *h Demoſthenes*) and a copy of an Oath which the Suiter gave, in theſe words *i* Τἀληθῆ κατηγορήσειν, that he would juſtly accuſe. Τἀληθῆ ἀπολογήσεσθαι, that he would according to Truth make his Apologie: and this they name *k* ἀντωμοσίας. Theſe writings were caſt into a certaine coffer, forth comming as occaſion ſhould require: All which *l Ariſtophanes* in one verſe comprehends. Ἀντωμοσίας καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας συνεκόλλων. They joyned or put together oathes, citations, and teſtimonies. I ſo interpret it againſt the Scholiaſts minde, who will have προσκλήσεις to be Exhortations given to the Plaintiffe and Defendant to come to compoſition. But I know that *m* προσκαλεῖσθαι, is κατηγορεῖν, εἰς ἕλκειν, to accuſe, εἰς δικαστήριον, *in jus rapere,* *n* and προσκαλήσασθαι, διὰ μαρτύρων ἀποχθύζεσθαι. The cheſt or coffer was called ἐχῖνος; and of this are the words of the Greek Oratours to be underſtood *o* εἰς ἐχῖνον βάλλειν. *p Theophraſtus* of a mad man that would entangle himſelfe in any thing, ἔχων ἐχῖνον ἐν τῷ προκολπίῳ, καὶ ὁρμαθὺς γραμματιδίων ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* makes a different expoſition of this oath from that

d You have a form of this in Demoſth. p.628.

e Ariſt. Nub. p.154 v.Sch.

f Demoſt. p.716. n.7.

g Ariſt.Schol. v.170.

h Unum contra Stephan. ψευδ. α.p.622. aliud p.624.629.

i Sch.Ariſt. Veſp.505.

k In Veſp.p. 467.505.

l In Veſp.p. 504.

m Sch.Ariſt. 239.

n Idem p. 195.

o Demoſth: 622.n.33. 629.n.80. 640.n.12. 655.n.65. 665.n.66.

p Charact. περὶ ἀπονοίας.p.21

that which other Grammarians do, confounding,as is moſt probable,the προωμοσία & ἀντωμοσία with διωμοσία. For προωμοσία is that firſt oath which thePlaintif gave to proſecute the party proſequuted to anſwer,which on the defendants ſide was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both Διωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the impleader that he did *a* προὔξαντα διώκειν, follow the delinquent in law:the defendant ὡς ὐκ ἔπραξεν ἀπολογεῖν, to ſtand ſtifly to it that he did not treſpas. And yet *d Vlpian* maks both theſe one,after this were they that ſued on another admitted tothe Judicatory it being firſt demanded of the ſuiter *c* whether he would *perſequi*, follow the ſuit,and had ſufficient witneſſe for evidence; in cauſes capitall it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be preſent. This interrogation was termed *d* Ἀνάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient the judgment was prorogued by an *e* ὑπωμοσία or oath,which thePlaintif took,that for the preſent he could not perform it, but certainly would. *f* Perhaps for that time pretending ſickneſſe, death of friends. or ſome urgent neceſſity, on which their fortunes might depend when then all things were ready,& at hand they proceeded towards theTribunall,the Judges firſt ſwearing *g* that they would give ſentence according to the Lawes,&in thoſe things concerning which there were noe Laws,according to conſcience and equity (which the greeks call γνώμην δικαιοτάτην) *b* and of thoſe things only concerning which they did debate. This oath ſeemes to have beene taken at the Alter,from whence they brought their little ſtones (of theſe by and by) with which they gave ſentence. *i Plutarch* ψῆφον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φέροντες The oath is called ἀμφιορκία. Then went the Judges to their ſeates k neately ſpread with mats in Greek ψιάθα and ψίαθοι, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars in this form *l* μεταστάντες ἔξω they ſate down for we muſt know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in,as the Romanes, with lettice I ſuppoſe, by them called

P

a Schol. Ariſtoph. Veſp. 505.

q In Demoſt. p. 287.

c Vide Vlpian in Dem. pp. 347. 341.

d Bud, in Annot. Rel, ad Pan. p. 341.

e Vlpian in Demp. p. 226. *the* Scho. *of* Ariſtoph, *Make it the ſame wiib* ὑπωμοσία. πλ. p. 75.

f Vlpian. in Demoſt, 341.

g Pollux. l. 8. pag. 406,

b Dem. pag. 628,

i Pag. 122.

k Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 239,

l Demoſth.

called [m] τὰ κιγκλιδωτὰ *Cancellata*, by the Greekes κιγκλίδες, [n] though κιγκλὶς more properly ſignifies the doer of the δικαστηρίου before which was [o] a rope of 50 feet length drawn, and publique ſervants ſet, that none might enter, but who had buſineſs. The partition I think was but weak, & therefore by *Demoſthenes* called ἀσθενὴς κιγκλίς. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when [a] *Demoſthenes* did long to hear *Calliſtratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogue* that he would bring him, where he might have the happinſſe to be an auditor. The *Pædagogue* therfore acquainted with the publique officers that opened the doores, τοὺς ἀνοίγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίων procured him a place where he might hear and not be ſeen, ἐν ᾗ καθήμενος ἀδήλως ἀκούσεται When the Judges had gone within the bars, leaſt any ſhould be wanting the *Præco* cried [b] Εἴ τις θύρασιν ἡλιαστής, εἰσίτω, if any Judge be without the doore of the place of Judgment, let him enter. [c] Becauſe if any came after the caſe began to be pleaded he could not have admiſſion, Being then ſeated the Crier read the inditement, ἔγκλημα (a copy of ſome part of which you have in [d] *Demoſthen.* ΕΒΛΑΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ;&c (in which according to the custome of [e] the old *Ægyptians*; were given up to the court in writing all the reaſons of accuſation, the wrong received & the manner of it, with an eſtimation of the dammage; The ſeverall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, leaſt the Impleader and defendant ſhould ſwerve from what they had in hand. Thē ſtood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunall, & ſpake an accuſatory oration, made for the moſt part by ſome of the *Attick* Oratours: which uſe brought in by [*] *Antiphon* the *Rhamnuſian*, [f] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls δικανικοὺς λόγους εἰς ἔκδοσιν γράφειν [g] *Cic*, *ſcribere aliis cauſas; quibus in judiciis uterētur*, ſuch as *Lyſias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which leaſt it ſhould exceed in length, was limited to a certeine time, by a veſſel,

in

[m] Pollux lib. 8. p. 407.

[n] Pollux loco citato.

This is περιχοίνισμα Pollux.

[o] Pag. 485.

[a] Plutarch. in Vita.

[b] Ariſtoph. pag. 494.

[c] Ariſtoph. Sch. Ibid.

[d] πρὸς Πανταίνετον. p. 567.

[e] Boemus De Coſthumi delle Genti lib. 1. cap. 5.

[*] Ariſt. Rhet. l. 1. c. 33.

[f] Stmat. 1. pag. 10226.

[g] In Bruto.

in the bottome of which was a ſmall hole for water to run as ſand doth in our houer-glaſſes, thence called κλεψύδρα into which was poured an equall meaſure of water;& leaſt there ſhould be deceit, there was an officer made for that purpoſe named *h* Ἐφύδωρ, ὁ παραφυλάττων τὴν ἰσότητα τ' Κλεψύδρας filling alike for the Impleader and anſwerer. *i* when therfore the glaſſe was runne, it was not lawfull for them to ſpeake farther. *k* nay for ſcantnes of time they were cōpelled to paſſe by many things;& for that reaſon were they chary of their water,bidding that it ſhould be ſtoped at the reciting of Lawes, or the like,which *Demoſthenes* intimates in Σὺ δ' ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ ας ῥῖνα ἐπιλαμβάνειν is to ſtop the noſe in *l* *Ariſtophanes.* *m* *Apuleius. At tu interea dum legit, aquam ſuſtine. Pancirollus. Ne ſi aqua interim effluxiſſet,amplius ſibi dicendi præbita foret facultas,* leaſt he might not have leave to ſpeak any more,if the water were ſpent if any would give way to another to ſpeake while this glaſſe was runing he might which *Dem.* teſtifies, ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι λαλείτω But if he would not permit it;he bad the *Præco* caſt it forth ἔκχεε τὸ ὕδωρ. *Vlpian.* Τουτέστιν ἔκβαλλε, Frō which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb *b* πρὸς τῇ κλεψύδρᾳ *c Cicero ad clepſydram,* to ſpeak by the houre or allotted time. His ſpeech being ended, he ſate down. *d* The defendant then ſitting all that while over againſt him,untill he had finiſhed after addreſſed himſelf to his anſwer which he made from the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit,& ſtation; For this reaſon ſaies *e* *Ariſtotle*, becauſe they would make both parties equall, For the Suiter having the better part,they gave the uper hand to the defendant.Or becauſe οἱ φεύγοντες or defendāts,were for the moſt part in cuſtody; If therfore the guard ſtood on the right hand,the defendāt ſtood there alſo, Thence then he pleaded for himſelfe, in which plea,he was only to wipe out thoſe accuſatiōs which his adverſary laid againſt him, *f* μόνον κατηγορηθέντων λύειν [illegible], & in that had the plaintiſ a prerogative for he might object

h Pollux l:8. p.404.
i Vlpian. in Dem. p. 356.
k Demoſth. πρὸς Βοιωτ. p. 589:
l In Pluto.
m Apologia.
a Demoſth. ὑπὲρ Φορμ.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 617.
c Tuc. Qu. l. 2. in fine.
d Vlpian in Dem. 226.
e Problem. περὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν.
f Vlpian in Demoſth. p. 52.

object what he would ſay and as g *Ariſtotle*, forecaſt al before he commenced his ſuit. & feigned to himſelfe what he pleaſed; the defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that inſtant to clear himſelfe, *h* either by witneſſe, or probabilities, of all doubts whatſoever the plantif could caſt in. Sometimes the plaintif and Defendant would deſire Advocates of the Judges Συνήγοροι, hence *i* ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνηγορεῖν to plead for a fee. In the time of their pleading, witneſſes were called, who came in, and gave their teſtimonies; and after they had uttered what they had to ſay; they went to the Altar (as it ſeemes to me, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and ſwore. *k* Cicero. *Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos ſancte graviterque vixiſſet, & teſtimonium dixiſſet publicè, &, ut mos Græcorum eſt: jurandi cauſa ad aras accederet, una voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamaſſe.* They report that in Athens when a certaine man (*l Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly & gravely among them, had given witneſſe and as the faſhion of the Greeks is, approached to the Alter to take oath, al the Judges with one voice cried that he ſhould not. (They would not it ſeemes, have belief rather be bound with religion then truth) Fit to this is the anſwer of *Pericles* to a friend of his deſiring him μαρτυρεῖν ψευδῆς to teſtify a lye which he was to avouche with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Alter, that is as farre as conſcience, religion and honeſty ſhall permit; hence ἄχρι βωμοῦ φίλος [illegible] usq; *ad Aras*, grew I ſuppoſe to be a proverb. *Plut. Apophth.* p. 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot juſtly ſay; in delivering their teſtimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reaſon to me unknown;) called λοβοὶ from λαμβάνειν. *Etymologicon*; (But rather may ſuppoſe it to be a Roman faſhion, where the Plaintif was wont to pluck his witneſſe by the eare, for remembrance ſake. *Horace lib* 1. *Sat.* 9. *Licet atteſtari? ego vero oppono auriculam*— To which *Virgill* looked, ſaing *Cynthius aurem vellet & admonuit*, *Eclog.* 6.) and at the end

thereof

g Loco laudato.

h Demoſth. 219.

i Clemens Aland. *These had certain pettifoggers under them, that adminiſtred the Lawes and forms of action.* Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedulâ adducti miniſtros ſe prebent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos πραγματικοὶ vocantur.

k Corneliana Vide at Atticum. l. 1. c. 13.

l Vid e Laertium in vita ejus,

hereof wiſh all deſtruction to themſelves and houſe if they dealt falſly. Which if they did, they were ſubject to a writ ψευδομαρτυριῶν, of falſe witneſſe, and he that ſubomed them κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witneſſe was not preſent at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear-ſay, which the Greek Lawyers term ἀκοὴ, as μάκοὴ τετελευτηκότων whē they take it from thoſe that are dead which went for currant and was allowable: But to bring a teſtimony from the mouth of one that was alive and within the territories of *Athens*, it would not paſſe. As neither theirs who were diſcarded the liberties of the City, ἄτιμοι; or ſervants, or any man in his owne cauſe. [a]The manner of witneſſe was two-fold, either by perſonall appearance & teſtifying αὐτοπροσώπως and then he was called μάρτυς, in no caſe lyable to the Law, ὑπόδικος: or elſe by writing, by which he offered himſelfe to his queſtions or attachments in law, againſt whom he witneſſed, if he were not true; and this is μαρτυρία. Both parties being heard & the altercation ceaſed the *Preco* cried, *To whom E.N. hath ſeemed to violate right*, (ſo they interpret ἀδικεῖν *jus violare*) *let him caſt in the black ſtone, or hollow, to whom he ſeemeth not the whole or white.* For we muſt know that anciently the Greekes gave their ſentences with black and white pebles, called [b] χοιρίναι (which the French ſemblably terme *Porcellanes* χοῖρος *porcus*) *Ovid*

m Demoſth. pp. 619. 634.

a Vlpian in Demoſth. 238.

b Ariſtoph. 438.

c Metamoſtph 15. F. 1.

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atriſque Lapillis:
His damnare reos, illis abſolvere culpa.

The antique faſhion was with white ſtones to abſolve, with black to condemne the accuſed. Pertinent to which is the ſaying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to go home and anſwer for his life, counting it fooliſh to goe thither, whence he was never like to eſcape; when one asked εἰ οὐ πιστεύεις τῇ πατρίδι τὴν περὶ σοῦ κρίσιν; Wilt thou not truſt thy country which begat thee to be thy judg? οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί, quoth he Δέδοικα γὰρ μὴ ἀγνοοῦσα καὶ σφαλεῖσα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὴν μέλαιναν ἐμβάλῃ ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς ψῆφον No not her that brought

Ælion. Var:. lib. 13 c 38 Plut. Mor: p: 140.

me forth. For I fear leaſt ſhee being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth, miſtake the black for the whiteſtone. The black made *triſtem ſententiam*, and was ſo named; the ſad ſentence; the white *candidam* or acquiting. They uſed likewiſe black & white beans; in reſpect of which *Pytbagoras* is hought to have ſpokẽ at a riddle κυάμων μὴ ἐσθίειν not to eat beans, by, *e Nonnus* interpreted μὴ περιδιδόντας τὸ δίκαιον δωροδοκιαῖς χρήμασιν Not to undermine juſtice with bribes or that men ſhould get by the perverting of equity. I ſee no reaſon, but that I may think he means men ought not to be too forward in getting places of Judgment. For *f* κυαμοτρώξ in *Ariſtoph.* is by the Scholaiſt expounded δικαστάς, & *g* κυάμων τρώξων is uſed for a Judge, which properly ſignifies an eater of beanes. But afterwardes they had little pellets of braſſe; The bloody ones of them were peirced through, therefore termed, *h* τετρυπημένας: the ſaving were whole, ἄτρυποι. Of theſe every one took, of each one from the Altar, as I have ſaid, *i* where laying their hands upon the ψήφους, or bals they intimated by a tranſpoſition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by reſpects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were ready to paſſe ſentence *a* the *Præco* caried about the Κάδον or Καδίσκον, a certain pitcher (for ſo *b* *Xenophon* calles it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnell, named κημὸς, but the top thereof was covered cloſe, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoiding of deceipt, I ſuppoſe, leaſt one man might caſt in more; & therefore were they to touch the ψῆφον only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c* *Ariſtop.* Τοὺς τρεῖς ξυνέχων τῶν δακτύλων, ἀνίστατ. But we muſt know that the black and white pellets were not promiſcuouſly caſt into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of braſſe called πρότερος whether becauſe the firſt threw into it their voices, or becauſe it may ſignify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being woodden

e In Naz. Stelit. ιζ.

f Pagina 290.
g Lyſiſtrata. p. 870.

h Polux. l. 8. pag 407. Ulpian. in Dem. 470.
i Vlpian in Dem p. 162.

a Ariſtoph. 585.
b Pag. 263.

c Pag. 439. vide Scholaiſt
d Ariſtoph. Veſpis 507.

wooden ἠθμὸς. After the Crier had gon round with both, becauſe ſome would keep their bals & for favour not give their voice againſt a friend or great perſon, therfore he cried [e] τίς ἀψήφιστος; ἀνιστάσθω who hath not caſt in his ball? Let him riſe. So he roſe and threw it in. Then they took them out & numbered them and in matter of lands, mony or the like, whoſe veſſell (for there were as many ſet as the number of the litigants came to) had moſt; got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magiſtrate ſtood by with a rod, & laid it over thoſe that were told, leaſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For ſo were they wont to doe; thence named [f] ψηφοκλέπται. Which [g] *Tacer* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*; & therefore he calls him κλέπτην ψηφοποιόν. Sch. δίκαιον κλέπτην; not amiſſe ψηφοκλέπτην. [h] When the number was known, if the white or ſolid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands and drew a ſhort line, as a token of abſolution; if the black or hollow were more; they drew a longer line as condemning. Hence [i] ἅπασι τιμᾶν μακρὰν, may be uſed, for to condemne every body. The thing it ſelfe they termed [k] ἀλοαίζειν as *Ariſtophanes.* By this the one party being overthrown ([l] as none ever was without the ſentence of the Judges) his adverſary wrote down what dammages he ſhould pay, which they terme ἐπιγράφειν. [m] *Plutarch* Δικασταῖς πατίμημα ἐνδεῖ τῶν δικῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένον [n] For it was a uſe of old for thoſe that went to law to make agreements I know not whether by oath, for they did ſwear by three Gods Ἱκέσιον Καθάρσιον, Ἐξακεστήριον and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions, before ſentence; that he that was caſt ſhould undergoe ſomewhat; & afterwards [illegible], that is, ſet down what los of limbs or life or means &c. for although they did [o] ἐνεχυράζεσθαι give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be leſſe or more then the fine. There was

in

[e] Ariſtoph. Veſpis.

[f] Schol. Naz. in ςηλ.

[g] Sophocles Ajacc. p. 68.

[h] Schol. Ariſt 438.

[i] Ariſtoph. Veſp loco cit.

[k] Pag. 491.

[l] Ariſtoph p. 472.

[m] βίους παρ. p. 454.

[n] Schol. Ariſt in πλ pag. 50.

[o] Schol. Ariſt. 740.

in cauſes capital an other proceeding,like to that in the City of *Venice*;where they gave two ſentẽces.In the firſt they determined whether they ſhould condemne or free: If in the firſt he was condemned, the manner of puniſhment was ordained in the ſecond But if in the firſt they found no cauſe of death,they bad the accuſed to fine himſelfe;which *d Xenophon* intimates by ὑποτιμᾶν, & if it were too little the Judges doubtleſſe made it more, as the *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*;if I forget not: The cuſtome is ſet down by *c Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*:*Ergo ille quoq;damnatus eſt &c.* And he too was condemned;not only by the firſt ſuffrages,but alſo by thoſe which by the appointment of the Laws they were to give the ſecond time. For in *Athens* the accuſed being found guilty if the offence were capitall, they weighed and conſidered the penalty. When the ſentence was to be given by the Judges they asked the defendant, what he thought himſelf to have deſerved to forfeit,&c.(In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not obſerved.) In tryall if there be more for the priſoners liberty,thẽ againſt him,he is ſtreight acquited,but if more then half be in the pot of condemnatiõ he ſuffers.*d Socrates* at the firſt had two hundred eighty and one more againſt him,then on his ſide;& at the next eighty more were added to the former,ſo in all he had three hundred threeſcore & one condemnatory ſuffrages. But fewer might have done as much.For we read in *e Demoſthenes* of *Cimon* like to punniſhed with death παρὰ τρεῖς μόν' ψήφους if there had not been wanting.And againe *f* τρεῖς γὰρ μόνοι ψῆφοι διήνεγκαν τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ τιμῆσαι..Nay one was ſufficient,*g Demoſthene.* Μιᾷ μόνον ἁλῶναι ψήφῳ.But *Ulpian* on the place ὥστε μικρὰν δίδοναι τιμωρίαν, ſaies that he was lightly punniſhed. *h* If the voices were equall,then was the priſoner looſed;becauſe ſometimes he might be accuſed upon ſuſpition; or of thoſe things which he did not willingly commit,or perhaps was ſued out of envy,and many other reaſons given by *i Ariſtotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave

a Contaren: de Rep. Ven: lib:3:

b Apolog: Socr: p:265.

c De Orat:1. fol. 61.b.

d Laertius in Socrat.p. 115

e Pag. 436.

f Pag. 430.

g Pag. 338.

h Ariſtoph.p. 244.

i Probl. τμη. κθ.

leave ſome place for pitty and compaſſion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the [k] deſerts of their anceſters: their own lives formerly welled. [l] Sometimes ſhewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray haires of their parents, but [m] mothers chiefely, to intercede in ſilence: Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view: or cauſed them to [n] come up into the βῆμα, or pulpit, & ſupplicate with teares: which wrought ſo much upon the Judges, that [b] Ariſtophanes in a ſcoff preſents one ἀποδακρύσαντα τὴν γνώμην, drowning his ſentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Iudges ſpeak to the priſoner, [c] Κατάβα, κατάβα, wiſhing him to go down from the βῆμα, a token often of mercy; though now and then it proved otherwiſe. Nay it was a word of diſpleaſure too, as when [d] Plato would have been Advocate for Socrates. Νεώτατος ὤν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων, they thundred out, Καταβάντων· ταχέως κατάβηθι. Neither may I forget [e] Amynias the brother of Eſchylus the Tragœdian, who when the people would have ſtoned his brother for ſome impiety brought on the ſtage, held up his elbow and arme without a hand loſt in the fight at Salamis: by which ſpectacle the Judges calling to mind the merit of Amynias, diſmiſſed the Poet. Neither may I omit what [f] Xenophon objects to them, that they cared not ſo much for juſtice, as regarded what might conduce moſt to their own profit, and be convenient: [g] And that they condemned innocents, and ſpared offenders that could ſpeak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of caſes a whole year, ſaies [h] Xenophon and Ariſtophanes. Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νῦν τὰς ὑπερεξηκοντέτεις εἰσάγομεν, ἀλλ' εἰσαῦθις ἀναβεβλήμεθα. Now we do not handle ſuits of above threeſcore years, but we are put off untill the next day. Τὰς ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν γὰρ ἐκδικάζομεν. For we come to trial within twenty yeares. This Xenophon imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the caſe hung in ſuſpenſe, the name of

[k] Dem. p. 492.

[l] Ariſtid. T. 3. p. 292.

[m] Dem. p 493.

[n] Ariſtid. loco cit. παιδία ἀναβιβαζόμενον.

[a] Ariſtop. pp. 469. 499.

[b] Veſp. p. 499.

[c] Sch. Ar. 500.

[d] Laert. Socr. p. 115.

[e] Ælian Var. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 19.

[f] Athen. Rep. οὐ τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῖς συμφέροντος. p. 404.

[g] Apol. Socr. initio.

[h] Athen. Rep. 406. Ἐκκλησιάζ. 752 753. They are tranſlated fooliſhly into latine.

[i] εἰσάγειν is what the Proctours in the Civil Law uſually mean by in proximum, in proximum.

k Budæus in in Pand. No. Relig. p.31.
l Demoſt. in Mid.347.
m Cont. Andro.388.
n Dem. p.406.

the accuſed was (as among the *Romans*, whence k *Rei penduli*) expoſed in a publique Table to the view of all men; which they terme ἐκκεῖσθαι. *Demoſthenes.* ἵνα ἐκκέοιτο πρὸ τῶν Ἐπωνύμων: *Ulpian.* προτιθέασι κ πᾶσι βλέπεσθαι. You ſee here the place too, *viz.* at the Statutes of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία, by m *Demoſthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος, a bare report; but after prooſe ἔλεγχος. ὅταν δ' ἐάν εἴπω τις, κ τ' ἀληθὲς ὁμοῦ δείξῃ. After judgment paſt, n ἀδίκημά τι. An inditement of ſacriledg, theft, murder, treaſon, is but αἰτία; the evidence and conviction makes it ἔλεγχος, the ſentence ἀδίκημα.

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De Areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagitæ.

a *When* Tullus *had divided the Roman field, he made on high hils and places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen and called them* πάγους. Dion. Hal. 4. *Not as if it ſignified a village, but as it was ſituated: For* Pagus villa ruſtica *comes from* πηγή: *Becauſe built neer a well.* Perot.

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, ſtood the *Areopagus*, in the old Tranſlation of the Acts of the Apoſtles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our Engliſhmen, *Mars his Street*, Falſly. For a πάγος beares not that ſignification, but what b *Juſtin Martyr* interprets, ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent place. Ἐν γὰρ ὄχθῳ τινὶ ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by c *Æſchylus*, & d *Euripides*, Ἄρειος ὄχθος, by e *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and f *Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: ſo called, as fond Antiquitie would have it, g from the judgment of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the ſonne of *Neptune*. But h *Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe he was there arrained of advoutery, μοιχείας ἐκεῖσε δίκας ἐδεδωκώς. But alike true. It pleaſes me well to conſider the ſuperſtition of the ancients, that conſecrated high places to their deities, and erected the ſtatues of their Gods upon hils. As i *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Anchesmus*,

b In Acta p. 136. c Eumenidib. p.296. d Elect. p. 836. e Metamorp. l. 6. fab. 2. f Vide Scalig. in conject. g Demoſt 413 Pauſ. p. 26. Simeon. Met. & Pachym. in vit. Dionyſ. Areopag. h Loc. citato. i Pauſ. Attic. p. 31.

whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymettius*, *Anchesmius*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a hill Ποσειδῶνος πάγος, *Saturne* another Κρόνου πάγος, *Pan* another Πανὸς πάγος, *Mercury* another, Ἑρμοῦ πάγος, ſo *Mars* his *Areopagus*. k *Eſchylus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons*, ſacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came & ſought againſt *Theſeus*. Or if you will receive the opinion of others, it takes the name from the caſes in it handled, of bloud wilfully ſhed: ſo *Heſychius*, φόνος φονικὸς, That when l *Juvenal* cals it *Curiam Martis*, you may interpet it, *The Court of Murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the m *Tragœdian*, *the moſt uncorrupt*, *ſharp*, *reverend counſel*, then which nothing is more conſtant (ſaies n *Tully*, comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more ſevere, as by o *Pſeudo Dictus Cretenſis* it is ſtiled *Judicium ſeveriſſimum per omnem Græciam*. Then which none judged better, more juſt, or honeſt, ſaies p *Xenophon*. q *Plutarch* writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and r *Cicero* received the like opinion, but that ſeems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* preſently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table, that they who had loſt their liberties ſhould be reſtored again, unleſſe they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, *Prytanes*, *Baſileis*, of murther, ſlaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, ſ Τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πρὸ Σόλωνος, &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time (if he firſt inſtituted the *Areopagites*.) t Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetæ* (Judges ſo called, becauſe when formerly the *Baſileus* made inquiſition after murder unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφέσιμον, that is, tranſlated it to the *Ephetæ*, their number was but fifty one. And though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little and little they became ridiculous.) n *Paſſardus* ſaies he aboliſhed their ſeverity, and ſubſtituted the *Areopagites*. But a *Ubo Emmius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, but brought it into a better forme, made it more ſtrong and firme, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it ſeems

k Eumenidib. p.296.

l Satyr. 9. v. 100.

m Æſchylus pag.297.

n Ad Atticum. l.1.Ep.11.

o De bello Tro. l.6.p.147.

p Ἀπομνημ. p.448.

q In Solone pag.63.

r Offic.l.1.

ſ Loc. laudato.

t Pollux.l.8.p. 407.

u De Athen. Mag.p.446.

a De Rep. Athen.p.20.

leſſened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Ephetæ;* *Solon* reſtored that authority and made it greater. [b] To this company none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy, and noble men: [c] famous for good life, and innocency, τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἀνεπίληπτον, whom no man could juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay, men, whoſe behaviour was intolerable, [d] ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασιν ἀνεκτοὶ ὄντες, after they were choſen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former diſpoſitions, ὀκνοῦντες τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι, changed their natures, & embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain. [e] *Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of [f] *Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fiftie and one. But what *Maximus* produces after, is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one, beſide the Nobility moſt wiſe and rich. πλὴν δὲ Εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ βίῳ σώφρονι διαφερόντων. By which words he ſeems to ayme at the nine *Archontes*, [g] who when they had governed one year, and given an account of their offices, and had adminiſtred all things juſtly, were choſen yearly into this ſociety. For which election annuall, the number was doubtfull. For ſome might die in that ſpace, or all live, and in the next year be encreaſed. *Volaterran* out of an old inſcription in *Acropolis*, that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ &c. To the moſt famous *Rufius Feſtus*, *Proconſull of Greece* & *Areopagite, the councell of Areopagus conſiſting of three hundred;* and the people of *Athens* ſet up this monument *for atteſtimoniall of his good will and benevolence.* But that might only happen when this was erected. [h] They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out, εἰ μήπου μεγάλως ἥμαρτον, unleſſe for ſome grand offence. [i] *Bozius* tels us (how true I wot not) that they were all Prieſts. *Athenienſis olim, &c.* The *Athenians*, quoth he, did ſtrive to challenge to themſelves the prerogative of wiſdome, and to them is it bent what the Apoſtle ſaies, *The Greeks ſeek after wiſdome.* Neverthleſſe their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things conſiſted of Iudges that were Prieſt, and the High

Prieſt

[b] Vide Maximum in Prolog. ad S. Dionyſ. opera & Niceph. lib. 2. in vita Dion.

[c] Pachymer.

[d] Iſoc. in Areopag. p. 133.

[e] Loco ſupra laudato.

[f] Atthid. l. 2.

[g] Anonym. in Argu. Oratio. Androtia.

h *They were of thoſe Magiſtrates that were choſen by Lot, as the* Archon, Theſmothetæ, Baſileus, Polemarchus, *for which cauſe* Pericles *was not of that number becauſe he never attained to theſe offices.* Plut. in Peric. p. 113.

[h] Anonymus loco laudat.

De ſtatu Italiæ adverſus Machiavel.

Prieſt of all that asked every of their ſentences, took the ſuffrages. Their authority was unlimited. For [k] they were overſeers of all, [l] Iudges of wilfull murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make ſome, having a deſire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chirurgion and make an inciſion in their heads, that they might ſue him whō they hated, upon an action of battery, as [m] *Mantitheus* againſt *Baot*s They ſate upon incendiaries, and impoiſoners, if the party died that took their doſes. [a] They ſaw that the Laws ſhould be put in execution, ſuch as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. [c] In a word all great delinquencies came under their cenſures. They inquired into the behaviours of men; & we read in [d] *Xenophon* that they ſharply reproved a young man for his looſe living Αναγκα ζημίων αὐτὸν τῶν Αρεοπαγιτῶν, &c. ſaies the *Dipnoſophiſt*. [e] *Valerius Maximus*. *Eſt & ejuſdem urbis* [f] *ſanctiſſimum conſilium Areopagus &c*. There is likewiſe in that City the moſt ſacred Counſel *Areopagus*, where they were wont moſt diligently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gaine he maintained himſelſe, and what his trade and actions were. That men, knowing and remembring that once they muſt give an account of their lives, might embrace honeſty. [g] The Greek author tels us that except in great caſes of neceſſity they medled not with ſtate affaires, but it ſeems otherwiſe. For if any one ſay, quoth [h] *Tullie*, that the Attick Republique can be well governed, without the councel of the *Areopagites*; he may as well ſay that the World may be governed without the Providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, [i] by the advice of them was the war waged, wherein *Themiſtocles* purchaſed an everlaſting memory of a victory. [k] And when their publique Treaſury was bare, they furniſhed each man with eight *Drachmes*, and ſtored the ſhips with Mariners. Which adviſe, when they had wonne the day, was a cauſe, ſaies [l] *Ariſtotle*, συντονωτέραν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, to give ſtrength and ſinewes to the

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[k] Plutarch. Solon. p.63.

[l] Ælian. Var. l.5.c.15. Dem p.406.

[m] Demoſt. in Orat. πρὸς Βοιωτὸν περὶ ὀνόματος.

[a] Dem. p.445.

[b] Pachymer.

[c] In Sympoſ. *unleſſe I am extremly forgetful. It is quoted likewiſe by* Athenæus. Dipnoſ. l.4.p.167.

[e] Lib.2.c.6.

[f] Ariſtides. T.1. p.331. τὸ τοῖς Ελλησι δικαστηρίων σεμνότατον καὶ ἁγιώτατο.

[g] Anon. *Arg.* Orat. *Androt.*

[h] De natura Deorum. 2.

[i] Eſt enim bellum geſtum conſilio Senatus ejus. Cicero Off.1.

[k] Plutarch. in Themiſtocl. pag.84.l.3.

[l] Poll. l.5.c.4.

Commonwealth. [m] Under their ſight were all the youth of *Athens.* For this Reaſon eſpecially, becauſe that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children (not obſerved by our countrymen in ſending their ſonnes young to the *Innes of Court*) youth and heat of blood, unſtaidneſſe in judgment, raſhneſſe in adventures, and proneneſſe to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender years to their own deſtruction. To them appertained blaſphemies againſt their Gods, violating of Religion, and divulging myſteries, as when [n] *Euryclides* the *Hierophanta* in anſwer to the queſtion of *Theodorus*, Τίνας εἶεν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended againſt the myſteries? Οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκλέγοντες, replied, ſuch as open them to thoſe who are not initiated. Therefore, quoth the Philoſopher, art thou impious. For which crime, had not *Demetrius Phalereus* beſreinded him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον ἀναχθῆναι πάγον, to have been brought before the Councel of *Areopagus.* By virtue of which authority St *Paul* was here judged for teaching ſtrange Gods (as they ſuppoſed.) [a] For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *ſui juris*, and permitted the to keep their ancient cuſtomes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the fellony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Baſileus*, who giving the priſoner and his accuſer audience once a month, at three ſeveral times to debate the buſineſſe, in the fourth moneth, brings in the accuſation to the *Areopagites*, [b] and putting off the Crown which he was wont to wear, ſate down as judg with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, ſaies [c] *Lucian*, that they might not regard the ſpeaker, but what was ſpoken. It being there forbidden [d] προοιμιάζεσθαι καὶ οἰκτίζεσθαι, to move to compaſſion, and uſe Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demoſthenes* are termed [e] προσαγωγαί. This [f] *Ari-*

ſtotle

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[m] Iſocrates Reop.p.132.

[n] Laert.lib.2. in Ariſtippo. pag.154.

[a] Symeon Metaphraſt.

[b] Pollux.l.8.

[c] Hermotim. p.505.

[d] Pollux, pag. 405.

[e] Vide Ulp. in Demoſt. pag.396.

ſtile cals ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν, to ſpeak beſide the matter. Before the trial both parties ſwear (which they ſtile [g] διωμοσίαν) The appealer ſtanding upon the *teſtes* of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull (uſual to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndareus* ſwore the Suiters of *Helena*, that they ſhould revenge any wrong done to her and her predeſtinated husband, [b] ἐπὶ τῶ ἵππου τῶν τομίων, and *Hercules* to the children of *Heleus* [i] ἐπὶ τομίων κάπρου) took oath, therefore named ὅρκος ἐπὶ τομίων; in which he maintained that he dealt juſtly and rightly, and that he was joyned in affinity to the ſlaine man, [k] which if he were not, he could not proſecute, the Law forbidding. The reaſon why he ſtood ἐπὶ τομίων, I ſuppoſe is, becauſe they are the inſtruments of generation, and in that oath, if he were not true, he wiſhed an extirpation of his houſe, himſelfe, and his poſterity. In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no puniſhment, as among the Romans. [l] *Jurisjurandi contempta religio ſatis Deum ultorem habet.* For ſwearing is puniſhed by a revenging God; but if any ſwore falſe by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Julian* Law, *Læſæ Majeſtatis.* After this the priſoner ſwore; which among us will not be allowed. Then ſetting each of them upon [a] two ſilver ſtones, one of which was namen λίθος ὕβρεως, the ſtone of injury; the other ἀναιδείας, by *Adrian Junius* thought ἀναιτίας of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the priſoner three queſtions, which [b] *Æſchylus* cals τρία παλαίσματα. Firſt, whether he were guilty or no, [c] εἰ κατέκτονε; to which he anſwered, ἔκτονα or οὐκ ἔκτονα, yea or nay: ſecondly, ὅπως κατέκτονας; for what reaſon he did the murther? Thirdly, τίνος βουλεύμασι, who were the Abettours? Then aroſe there certain Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the Murther was committed [d] σὺν δίκῃ, in juſtice. ([e] For in *Athens* there were ſuch Councellours, to whom in matters of difficultie they had reſort) By σὺν δίκῃ, you muſt underſtand thoſe cauſes, in which [f] *Draco* thought it lawful to kill a man. As taking him committing uncleannes with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or concubin, or any whom

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[g] Pollux loco laudato. Dem cont. Ariſtocr. p. 413.

[b] Pauſanias Lacon. p. 103.

[i] Idem *Meſſaniacis* p. 126.

[k] Demoſth. p. 608. & 418.

Theſe agreed, ſaies Pollard, *about the puniſhment, according to the dammage received.* De Athen. *Mag.* p. 449.

[l] Lib. 2. C. de reb. cred.

[a] Pauſ. Attic. p. 27.

[b] Eumenid. p. 292.

[c] Ibidem.

[d] Æſchylus p. 293.

[e] Demoſt. vid. p. 64.

[f] Demoſt. p. 312.

he accounts among his children the party ſo offending might be ſlain in the manner by him, againſt whom he had treſpaſſed. Likewiſe, in the defence of a mans goods, if the theefe were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquiſition, they paſſed to ſentence, which was given very privily as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis;* without ſpeaking (is the *Tabellares ſententia* of the *Romans*, in which they wrote C. if they condemned. A. if abſolved. N.L. if the caſe were not maniſeſt) hence Ἀρεοπαγίτε σιγηλότερος, for one that is cloſe and ſilent; and Ἀρεοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, & in whoſe countenance is *g triſtis ſeveritas.* ἐπὶ τῶν σκυθρωπῶν ϗ ἀξιοπρεπῶν ϗ σιωπηλῶν. Whatſoever they concluded of, ſtood irrecoverable, *h* neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvail. For ſo upright was their ſentence, *i* that none, either Appellant or priſoner, could ever ſay, that he was unjuſtly condemned. Nay both parties, as well thoſe that are caſt, as they that caſt, are alike contented. *k* ἀπῆλθον τὴν γνώμην ὁμοίως τοῖς νενικηκόσιν. After doome the priſoner was to ſuffer death. In which execution alſo the *Areopagites* had a care leſt the innocent ſhould be puniſhed with the guilty. *l* When therefore they had condemned a woman for poyſoning another, they deferred the execution, becauſe ſhe was great with child, and ſtraightway after her delivery put the mother to death. Which cuſtome is by us alſo obſerved at our Aſſiſes. *m* It will not be amiſſe to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconſull of *Aſia*, who, when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & ſonne, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuſer to appear ſome hundred yeares after, that by ſuch a bottome of time, ſcarce able to be unwinded, they might ſhew, that they neither would condemn nor acquit the womã. One thing more *a Quintilian* tels us, that they condemned a boy for

Vid. Demoſt. contr. Ariſtocr.

Vid. Sylvium in Orat. pro Flacco.

g Terentius.
h Ἡττώμενοι κρί-
σεις οὐκ ἐδίδουν τοῖς
χρισθεῖσιν ἑτέροισιν.
Pachymerius.
i Demoſt. con.
Ariſtocrat. p.
413.
k Ariſtid.
Tom. 1. p. 185.
l Ælian Var.
Hiſt. l. 5. c. 13.

m Valer. Max.
p. 322.

a Lib. quinto.

for putting out the eyes of Quailes. Becauſe it was a ſigne of a mind, likely to prove moſt pernicious. Their power was ſhaken and ſomewhat pluckt downe by [b] *Ephialtes*, a ſore enemy of *Oligarchicall* government, and more inclining to the people, who was ſecretly ſlain by [c] *Ariſtodicus* of *Tanagra*. They ſate three daies every Month, τετάρτῃ φθίνοντος, τρίτῃ, δευτέρᾳ.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

De Judicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

AFter the ſiege of Troy ſome of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, [d] who kept the *Palladium*, to the coaſt of *Attica*, and ariving by night at *Phalerum*, ſuppoſing it to be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demopho* ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid and defend his own, and ſlew many of the *Argivi*, which they caſt out unburied; whoſe bodies when no beaſt had toucht ([e] ὃ οὐδὲν ἀπεγεύσατο ζώων *Pollux* ſaies, the interpreter, *nullus vivus*, I better think it no creature either ſoule or beaſt) *Acamas* ſhewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; Being warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, [f] neither knowing nor known) they buried them, and in that Place conſecrated the *Palladium*; where they made alſo a judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and called it * ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, *juxta Palladium*, as ſome. Here was *Demopho* firſt tried, who returned from this battaile, killed with his horſe, ſomewhat diverting, an *Athenian*, [g] For whoſe kindred ſome think he ſatisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. [h] If any had ſtriken a man or woman, and the party chanced to die, he was judged in this Court. [i] In ſuch caſes the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not puniſhed with perpetuall exile, ἀειφυγίᾳ, as in wilfull felony; (kept by us in England once, called *Abjuration*

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[b] Plutarch. Vit. p. 355. & Mor. 361.

[c] Plut. in Pericle. p. 113.

[d] Dictis Cretenſis de bello Trojano. l. 5. p. 140.

[e] Libro octavo pag. 406.

[f] Schol. Soph. in Oed. Tyr.

* *It is ſimply ſo called* Palladium Ælian Var. l. 5. c. 15. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀκουσίων ἐν Παλλαδίῳ.

[g] Pauſan. Attic. pag. 17.

[h] Demoſth. contra Neæram. pag. 727. Vide 647.

[i] Demoſth. pag. 329.

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never returne) but he did [k] ἀπενιαυτίζειν, in a gentler terme. [l] For it was a cuſtome of old, to give a certain ſumme of mony (the Attick Law χρήματα ἐπίτιμα, in wilfull, all was confiſcate) to the kindred of the ſlaine that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchaſe an aboad they went ſome where elſe. [m] *Ovid. Cæde puer facta Patroclus Opunta reliquit.* Their diſcontinuance was but for one year Ἄλλως ἢ ἔφυγεν ὁ φονεὺς οὐ πλεῖον εἰς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνιαυτοῦ. The mony diſburſed on ſuch occaſions was properly called ποινὴ *quaſi* φονὴ, from φόνος murther, as if it were the price of bloud. And the Scholiaſt on *Sophocles* tells us that ποινὴ is ſpoken only ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων of payment of mony, but abuſively of any puniſhment. [a] If the party wounded had forgiven the offender before his death, or the allies of the man deſperately hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; otherwiſe he fled. And in that flight he betook himſelfe to ſome acquaintance; by whom he was clenſed from the guilt with certain ceremonies of waſhing, which the Romans call *Februa.* So was *Patroclus, Peleus, Medea, Alomæon* purified; [b] *Ovid.*

[k] Demoſthenes, Midiana.

[l] Euſt. in Iliad 1. Ἔθος παλαιὸν ἦν φονευθέντος τινὸς &c.

[m] De Ponto l. 1. Eleg. 4.

[n] Euſtath. *but* Demoſth. ἕως ἄν αἰδέσηταί τις τῶν ἐν γένει τοῦ πεπονθότος: *Untill he obtained remiſſion from ſome of the kindred of the ſlain.*

[a] Demoſth.

[b] Faſtorum 2 initio.

Gracia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes
Impia luſtratos ponere facta putat.
Actoridem Peleus, ipſum quoque Pelea Phoci
Cæde per Æmonias ſolvit Acaſtus aquas.
Vectam frænatis per inane draconibus Ægeus
Credulus immeritâ Phaſida fovit ope;
Amphiardiades Naupactæo Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit; ſolvit & ille nefas.
Ah nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli poſſe putatis aquâ.

In this ceremony they did θύειν, ſacrifice, ſaies [c] *Demoſthenes*; which cuſtome likewiſe was obſerved by the [d] *Træzenians* in the luſtration of *Oreſtes* from the bloud of his mother; which I garther by the feaſt which they preſently celebrated there

[c] Κατὰ Ἀριστοκρ. p. 414.

[d] Pauſan. Corinth. p. 74. Καθῆραι δὲ φασιν Ὀρέστην καθαρσίοις τε καὶ ἄλλοις &c.

there, and yearly obſerved afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read, taken out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegaſus*; the ſprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I ſuppoſe (by the words following perſwaded to it, which tell us, that when the καθάρματα were buried, there ſprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καθαίρειν, θῦσαι, καὶ καθαρθῆναι. This, as I ſaid, was in his flight. Κατιόνθ' ὁσιοῦν καὶ καθαίρεσθαι νομίζουσι δεῖ. The proceeding in this Court, was firſt, διωμοσία, ſuch as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuſer & defendant: ſecondly, λόγος, their ſpeeches of both ſides: thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστῶν, Judgement. If the priſoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murthered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he ſhould flee, as above ſaid, untill he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Couſins of the deceaſed.

CAP. III. SECT. IV.

De Judiciis ἐν Δελφινίῳ. Πρυτανείῳ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by c *Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Delphinius* and *Diana Delphinia*, a where was the Tribunall named τὸ Δελφίνιον, or ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον. * In this Judicatory were heard caſes of murther, when the party confeſſed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. b For the Law required no puniſhment of any man that ſhould kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanneſſe with his Mother, Siſter, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewiſe if in preſervation of his goods or own defence he ſpilt bloud, it was not capital. The firſt that was arraigned here was *Theſeus*, maintaining the right he had to ſlay the Theeves, ſaies c *Pollux*, (I know not whether he mean *Sciron* and *Procruſtes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his children, who were rebels. Before this tryall of *Theſeus*, whoſoever

c Plutarch. pag. 4. l. 19.

a Schol. Ariſt. pag. 333.

* Ælian. Var. l 5. c. 15.

b Demoſth. contra Ariſt. pag. 410, 411.

c Lib. 8. pag. 406.

d Pauſan. Att. p. 27.

ſoever had ſlaine any body was compelled to flee the Country, or ſtaying dye, were the cauſe never ſo juſt. Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ Here they ſate on things inanimate. As if a ſtone, timber, iron, or ſuch like fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, ſentence was paſt on that thing which ſlew him; and the f φυλοβασιλεῖς, that were the Maſters of this Court, were to ſee this thing caſt out of the Territories of Athens, to which g *Æſchines* alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τοὺς λίθους, καὶ τὸν σίδηρον τὰ ἄφωνα, καὶ ἀγνώμονα ἐάν τινι ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτείνῃ, ὑπερορίζομεν The firſt thing that here was judged was an axe, wherewith the Prieſt, whom they call Βουφόνος, had ſlain an Oxe on the Altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erectheus*. Ἐν Φρεαττοῖ. In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name φρεαττὸς, from *Phreatus* an *Heros*, ſome think; not becauſe it ſtood in a pit, whence h *Pollux* names it ἐν φρεάττει. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwillſull murther μήπω τῶν ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ᾐδεσμένων, they that drove him out not acqitting him, if in the ſpace of this exile it happened that he wittingly ſlew another he anſwered here. The proceeding was in this ſort. The Judges aſſembled ἐν Φρεαττοῖ, in a place ſeated on the Sea, k τόπον ἐπιπαλώμενον ἐπιθαλάττιον, where the *guilty* drawing near in a *boat* or *bark* was to make his apology, τῆς γῆς οὐχ ἁπτόμενος: not coming to *land* or touching it, neither caſting anchor l or moaring his bark; and if he were found guilty he underwent deſerved puniſhment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not diſcharging him of the former m τὴν δ᾽ ἐπὶ προτέρῳ φόνῳ φυγὴν φεύγει. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were caſt in this tryall, he was expoſed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. Theſe laſt quoted words ſeeme to contradict it. The firſt that ever anſwered here was *Teucer*, proving himſelſe to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: n whom they treacherouſly circumvented becauſe he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of

Salamis

f Pollux loco citato.
g Contra Cteſiph. p. 103.
h Lib. octav. 406.
i Demoſth. contra Ariſtocer. 415.
k Demoſth.
l Rodolphus Gualter. *out of* Pollux *interprets* it Scalam terræ injicientem; *putting downe a ladder*; *the Greeke* ἀποβάθραν.
m Demoſthenes.
n Dictis Cretenſis de bello Trojano. l. 6. p. 145.

Salamis, unto which that he might be reſtored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to [b] *Ariſtotle* Ὅσα τῶν φεύγοντων φόνου, ἐπὶ καθόδῳ σκοπεῖται, οἷον Ἀθήνησι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον. Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back againe, ſuch as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ When the party proſecuting will not admit of reconciliation.

CAP. III. SECT. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυστον. Τρίγωνον. Βατραχιοῦν. Φοινικιοῦν. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. Μητίχου δικαστήριον. Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Διαιτηταί.

BEſides theſe Courts of bloud and cauſes criminall, there were for civill matters theſe *Heliæa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. Παράβυστον. Of this name there are two, παράβυστον μεῖζον καὶ μέσον, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, ſaies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachme, to which [c] *Ariſtotle* might be thought to look, ſpeaking of *Judicatories*, περὶ τῶν μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα &c. And this was the meaning of [d] *Pauſanias*, Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων εἰς αὐτό. Suing here for the leaſt occaſions. The *Undecimviri* were *Judges* of the Court, which made *Petit* to ſuppoſe that it was not to be reckoned among the τῶν δικαστηρίων. It ſtood [e] ἐν ἀφανεῖ πόλεως, in an obſcure place of the city; whence ἐν παραβύστῳ, in [f] *Demoſthenes*, is by *Vlpian* expounded privily, by a *Metaphor* taken frō the ſituation of the *Judicatory*, or, ἀπὸ τῶν παραβεβυσμένων τῶν ἐν ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις ἔνδον, καὶ κρύφα τοῦ φαινομένου, from goods ſecretly hidden. Ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀντὶ τοῦ λάθρα. Τρίγωνον, from the forme of it, which ſeems to have been triangular. Βατραχιοῦν and Φοινικιοῦν, from the colours that were painted [g] ἐπὶ τῷ σηκίσκῳ τῆς εἰσόδου upon the poſt of the entry, anſwerable to which there was a ſtaffe given to the *Judges*, that they

[b] Politicon. 4. c. 17.

[c] Polit. lib.4. c,17.

[d] Atticis. p. 27. l. 13.

[e] Pauſanias. ibidem.

[f] Pag. 450.

[g] Ariſtoteles Athen. Rep. apud Ariſt. Sch. pag 31.

they might know in what Court to ſit. For they preſently went to that Court which had the ſame colour with their ſtaffe. Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ. From the ſtatue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there ſet up, having the face of a wolf, where likewiſe the ſtatue of *Juno* ſtood viſaged in the ſame manner. But we muſt not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence [b] Λύκου δεκάς, *Lyci decem*, for ſycophants & ſuch as corrupt judgement, becauſe that ſuch perſons were very frequent and buſy there; And ſo think I *Pollux* is to be read, [a] πάλαι ᾗ συνῄεσαν οἱ συνδεκάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (underſtand ἱερὸν ὂν or the like) at which they who bribed the *Judicatories* met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ὅπου οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες καὶ συκοφαντοῦντες κατὰ δέκα γιγνόμενοι συνεστρέφοντο. The [b] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple neare the *Judicatory*, where the *Judges* divided their mony for pay, three oboli to each, a day. [c] Μητίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great *Judicatory*, ſo named from *Metichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had paſſed thirty years of his age, and was well and Nobly deſcended, and owed nothing to the publique treaſury, might be choſen *Judge*. For of ſuch they all conſiſted, Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falſely ſuppoſed that there was a Tribunall ſo called: neither did [d] *Meurſius* think otherwiſe, when he tranſlated theſe words of [e] *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the tranſcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὤμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστήρια. The *Judicatories* were wont to take Oath or be ſworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place near the river *Iliſſus*, ſo named from *Ardettus* a Peere, who ſwore the people, being in ſedition and mutinie to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is moſt probable, the *Judges* took oath (I cannot juſtly ſay preſently after their election) to give ſentence according to the Lawes, and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and juſtice, [f] *by Apollo Patrius*, *Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologiſt affirmes, ſpeaking of *Ardettus*, [g] Ἐν τῷ

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[b] Zenobius.

[a] Lib. octavo p. 406. *The place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the falſe Greeke.*

[b] Veſp. p. 457.

[c] Pollux lib. 8.

[d] Athen. Att. l. 2. c. 12. p. 124.

[e] Lib. 8. pag. 406.

[f] Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον, καὶ Δήμητραν, καὶ Δία Βασιλέα.

[g] Etym. mag. p. 147.

τῷ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ὤμνυον δὲ δικασταὶ δικαστικὸν ὅρκον. The Judges in this place took their oath touching the diſcharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients ſuch as would preſently ſweare, were called h *Ardetti*, proverbially, as alſo thoſe who were perjurious and forſworne. Καὶ Ἀρδηττὴς ἐπιορκεῖ. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories, in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytanum*, and *Phreattys*. For other matters *Heliæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabyſtum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum*, *&* *ad Lycum*, where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to ſit, ſaies k *Poſſardus*, of whom, becauſe l *Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor præcipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now ſpeak. But of every Tribe were choſen m forty four men, n above threeſcore years old, who judged in ſeverall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refuſed to ſit according to his lot he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Citizen. o In former time there came no controverſy into the Courts, which had not firſt paſt through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachmes; Although p *Ulpian* tels us that they determined of petty buſineſſes) but that ſeems to be, τῶν ἐν ἱεροῖς, holy matters, if *Pollux* be ſo to be read. For ſome things there were which came not under their Juriſdiction. What ever the διαιτηταὶ κληρωτοὶ judged, if the plaintiffe and defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the q Argument of *Demoſth. Orat. contra Callippum*; *&* r *Pollux*) at which removing of the ſuit they were to caſt their ſuffrages into a pot as they gave thē, on what ſide ſoever, for the plaintiffe by themſelves, and for the defendant by themſelves. ſ When they were appointed for the hearing of a caſe, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither, or but one was preſent, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the ſuit, and wrote the accuſation, with the fine which

h Caſaub. Theoph. Char. p.178.

i Etym. Mag. loco laudato.

k De Mag. Athen. p. 540.

l Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.

m Vlpian. in Dem. p. 342.

n Pollux l. 8. p. 407.

o Pollux ib.

p Demoſthenem loco citato.

q Pag.678.

r Lib. 8. p. 407.

ſ Vide Dem. Midian. &c. Ulpian in illum. p.344.

which was required for damages; they received as a fee from the plaintiffe one drachme which they called [t] παράστασιν, as alſo another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. Their office was but annuall; And becauſe they would pervert juſtice, (as [u] *Demoſthenes* is witneſſe, * although they were not to judge before they had ſworne) give ſentence according to favour, envy, or for gaine, therefore [x] at the years end made they an account of their function upon the laſt day of [y] *Thargilion*, on which it was lawfull for any to ſpeak what he could object againſt them; and if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι Thus much of the Διαιτηταὶ Κληρωτοί. There were other Διαιτηταὶ likewiſe, ſuch as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromiſſarii*: and we in engliſh *Arbitrators*: whom two parties choſe with reſolution to ſtand to their determination, whether in matter of debt, covenant or other cōtroverſy whatſoever: ſuch by the *Attick* Law any might requeſt, but with neceſſity of abiding at their judgement. [z] For they could not appeal from them to any other Court. To referre matters to their arbitrement the Greeks terme ἐπιτρέπειν δίαιταν. And it will not be ſuperfluous here to relate the ſtory of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had choſen Arbitrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the ſentence untill at laſt he died. Whence grew to a proverbe, [a] Βούνας δικάζει, *Bunas judicat*, Bunas judgeth, of thoſe that deferre to paſſe ſentence, and hold a caſe long in ſuſpence.

CAP. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it followes that I ſpeake of the Termes of Law, Writs, Accuſations. Theſe were of two ſorts, private and publique. The publique were properly termed Κατηγορίαι, ſaies [b] *Emmius*. Of

Κατ-

[t] Pollux 8. c.10. p. 408.

[u] Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.

* Idem pag. 682. n. 41.

[x] Ulpian loco laudato 342.

[y] Petit. Miſcel. L. 8. p. 211.

[z] Vide legem apud. Dem p. 344.

[a] Zenobius.

[b] Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.

κατηγοριῶν there were divers ſorts. Γραφὴ, φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἐφήγησις, [illegible] εἰσαγγελία. Γραφὴ, ſaies (c) *Ulpian*, is ἐπὶ τ̃ [illegible], of any treſpaſſe againſt the Law, by which the Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; and moſt properly, (d) quoth he, elſewhere, it ſignifies an accuſation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the ſame which in Engliſh we call a (e) VVrit or Right, in Latine *Actio* or *Formula*, as in (f) *Sueton*, *Injuriarum formulam intendere*, to ſerve a man with a VVrit. (g) φάσις is a kind of an Information made againſt any for abuſes in the Mines, or Cuſtome houſes, for converting Tribute money to a mans own uſe, or the like. VVhich offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuſer and accuſed, and the fine which the parties convinced ſhould undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the fift part of the ſuffrages, he was to lay down the ſixt part of the fine; which the *b* Orators call ἐπωβελίαν, from ὀβελὸς, becauſe it ſignifies the ſixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accuſation, the informer was to ſubſcribe the names of the witneſſes that were preſent. In generall, all diſcoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις which in Latine you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are ſtiled *Quadruplatores*; but among the *Athenians* not ſo, if (i) *Pollux* ſay right. ἡ τὸ μὲν τιμηθὲν ἐγίγνετο τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ, εἰ καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φαίνοιτο, The amercement fell to the perſon injured, although another accuſed for him. If the fine were written down a thouſand Drachmes, & the Accuſer had not the fift part of the voices; he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded, a thouſand, four hundred and one. Ἔνδειξις is a VVrit againſt thoſe that owe to the City Treaſury, and yet goe about to beare office, ſaies (k) *Ulpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The *l* Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* takes it for the accuſing of any that did amiſſe in publique affaires: & the *m* Interpreter of *Demoſthenes* in another place, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀτίμων

c In. Demoſt. pro Coruna. p. 159.

d Orat. contra. Lept. p. 296.

e Sir T. Smith Com. Wealth of Eng. l. 2. c. 10.

f In Vitell.o.

g Pollux l. 3. p. 387.

b Demoſthen. cont. Cariel. p. 699. n. 6. cont. Everg & Mneſib. pag. 646. n. 90. cont. Steph. ψευδ. A. p. 22. n. 9. contra Onetora. Ἐξουλ. ς. p. 528. n. 19. cont. Aphob. ς. p. 508. n. 97.

i Onomaſt. l. 8. c. 6. p. 387.

k Demoſt. p. 391.

l In Equit. p. 303.

m Pag. 469.

for men disfranchiſed. But [n] *Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* againſt one taking in the manner, which the *Greeks* terme ἐπαυτοφώρῳ, [o] Schol. *Nazianz.* ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ κλοπῇ, *Pollux* expreſſes by ὁμολογουμένως ἀδικήματος, when the offence is confeſſed. Becauſe men ſo apprehended were forced to condemne themſelves; no further evidence required then from their own mouthes. By which acknowledment of their guiltineſſe without greater trial, they received their doome: [p] as among us when a priſoner arraigned, confeſſes his inditement to be true, no twelve men goe upon him: there reſteth but the Judges ſentence of the paine of death. Whence grew our Proverb, **Confeſſe and be hanged.** [q] *Pollux* ὁμολογουμένου ἀδικήματος, οὐ κρίσεως, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίας δεῖσθαι. He that thus made his declaration, was to ſubſcribe his name, that if he were falſe, he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδοῦς ἐνδείξεως. The declaration was againſt men who were not preſent.

[r] Ἀπαγωγὴ, is a carrying of a man before the Magiſtrate, being taken in the fact, whom otherwiſe he was to accuſe by declaration in his abſence. By which a thouſand Drachmes were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγῇ, they brought not all offenders to the ſame Magiſtrates, but according as they were made Judges of ſuch and ſuch offences; [s] ſometimes to the eleven, ſometimes to the *Theſmothetas* ſometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique Treaſury, or bound for thoſe places or countries where it was not permitted for him to goe, or one who had committed murther, if by reaſon of weakneſſe he durſt not venture to apprehend the perſon, and ἀπάγειν, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the houſe where ſuch a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers terme ἐφηγεῖσθαι. [t] Ἀνδρολήψιον, is when a fellow hath committed murther, and flies for ſuccour to any, (as the Law ſuffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the ſlaine or others had required the malefactor to be delivered to them, and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his houſe, and carry away any three perſons, as ſome tranſlate it,

or

[n] Onom. lib. 8. p. 388.

[o] In Stelit. 1.

[p] Sir T. Smith Commonw. of Engl. l. 2. c. 26. p. 281.

[q] Loco laud.

[r] Ulp. in Dem. p. 389.

[s] Idem. p. 407.

[t] Dem. p. 416.

or all ſave three ὑπεύθυνοι, as others, who were to anſwere for the outrage done. But who ſo entred unjuſtly, was not to eſcape unpuniſhed. Εἰσαγγελία, ſaies *Vlpian, is an accuſation concerning great and publique matters, ſuch as (x) elſewhere he ſpeakes of, to wit, the diſſolution of the *Democracie*, or if an Oratour had ſpoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publique, if any went to warres before they were ſent, or betrayed a Garriſon, army, or fleet. In other accuſations, if the accuſer had not the fift part of the ſuffrages, he was fined a thouſand Drachmes, and loſt the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontrolable. But in after time, becauſe men would accuſe preſently for none, or ſmall offences, therefore was there a Law enacted, that whoſoever accuſed by εἰσαγγελίας, and had not the fift part of voices on his ſide, was fined a thouſand Drachmes, although he loſt not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accuſation was given, ſo was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελτικός. The Senate was *Judg*. (*Pollux* ſaies that *Solon* made a thouſand to ſit on this, and *Phalereus* 1500. Where the interpreter erres; for καὶ πεντακόσιοι is 500 to them, as [illegible], in *Demoſthenes*, and ſomewhat more) and when they found delinquents, if in ſmall faults, they fined, but if the offence were hainous, they committed him to priſon. Thus much for publique actions, private were theſe that follow, more properly called δίκαι.

Αἰκίας· is an Action againſt a man, who when two ſhall ſcuffle, gives the firſt blow, which the (y) Greeks call ἄρξαι χειρῶν ἀδίκων. (z) The matter was heard before the Judges & though the Law ordained not any ſet ſumme of money for dammages, yet it was permitted for the party ſmitten to write down what he thought fitting. [a] The reaſon why theſe actions were ſo ſtrictly looked into, was leſt any not able to defend himſelfe with his hands, ſhould ſeek to revenge himſelfe with ſtones, or other hurtfull weapon,

[b] Κα-

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* Idem cont. Ariſt. p.41.

*In Dem. p.58

x Eund. p.453.

y Dem. p.410. vide Vlp. ibid. & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg. p.637.

z Sch. *Ariſt.* Con. p.745.

a Dem. cont. Con. p.690.

Κακηγορίας δ. Somewhat neer our proviſo of giving the lye, leſt by taunting and reproachfull words, men be provoked to blowes. Βλάβης δ. Is when any man receives dammage and hurt in eſtate by another man. [c]As to turne water into his ground by which it is anoyed; [d] To refuſe to pay money where it is required, or to give it to another; [e]To promiſe to bear witneſſe in a ſuit, and then not be preſent, by which the caſe fals, and the like. Παρακαταθήκης δ. About pawnes, I ſuppoſe, which men that needed mony were wont to leave with the uſurers, [f] as cloathes, houſholdſtuffe, &c. Or about money put to the Banck, which the exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of [g] *Demoſthenes*. The word imports both. Ἀποπέμψεως δ. Of divorce [h] For they were wont to put away their wives, in former time, upon diſcontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called ἀποπομπὴν, & as *Lyſias* ἀποπέμψαι on the husbands ſide, and on the wives ἀπολείψειν; for he did as it were turne her away, ſhe was ſaid to forſake him. Κακώσεως δ. Of ill uſage of Parents, as not releiving them if they were poore. Of wives againſt husbands, of Pupils againſt Tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner ſoever. Which if it were by day, was not capitall, but by night was deadly. Χρέως δ. Such as our Act of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by [i] Law provided in *Athens* that none ſhould take too much uſe, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the beſt of his money: which he termes [k] στάσιμον ἀργύριον. Of uſury I ſhall ſpeak more in the Chapter of money. Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained and would not ſtand to it. [l] *Ariſtotle.* Δίκαι περὶ ἀδικημάτων καὶ συμβολαίων. Συνθηκῶν παραβάσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man and Man, or between City and City, concerning free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*. *Ariſt. Pol.* 3. *cap.* 6. or the like. [m] Theſe Συνθῆκαι were uſually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ. [n] a conten-

[b] Idem ibid.

[c] Arg. Orat. Dem contra Callclem.

[d] Dem. cont. Callip. p.680. n.20.

[e] Dem. cont. Tim. p.659. n.25.

[f] Sch. Ariſto. 137.E.

[g] Cont. Phor. p. 555. n.7.&.

[h] Vide Cujacium. Obſerv. l.6. c.15.

[i] *This is reckoned among the Lawes which were made for private men.* Ulp. in Dem. p.481.

[k] Vi. Caſaub. in Theoph. p.191. Char. περὶ Ἀναισχυντ.

[l] Polit. l.2. c 3.

[m] Dem. p. 652. n.13.

[n] Ulp. in Dem. p.62. & 310.

tion about bearing office, in which they ſeek to have a time appointed, when a man ſhall enter into it. For the diſcharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπιδικασίας δ. When parents died and left their daughters inheritrices, the kinred was wont to ſue each other, to make it appear who was neareſt joyned in blood, that he might Marry her. Hence a Virgin[o] to whom an inheritance falls is called ἐπίδικος, that is, *Controverſa*. Μισθώσεως οἴκου δ. About letting of Houſes. (For *Herodotus* termes that ἐκδιδόναι, which other Greek writers μισθοῦν, it is as well to ſet to hire, as to take to rent, ἀμισθοῦν and ἀπομισθοῦν, to let out. Which they often did for want of Mony, which that they might obtaine the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we uſe to doe, **This houſe is to be Let.** Which Cuſtome *Menedemus* in[p] *Terence* expreſſes--*Inſcripſi illico*, ÆDES MERCEDE) This Writ was properly againſt Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of yeares, ſuch as immediatly is before ſpoken) who having taken the charge upon them of Tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that ſuch a houſe was to be let, he then put it out upon ſome pledge for ſecurity. But if the houſe were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was ſuffered to remaine void of a Tenant, to the loſſe of the Pupil, then was it lawfull for any man to ſue the Guardian in the *Archon's* court, upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως οἴκου. Ἐπιτροπῆς. I have obſerved it to have been a cuſtome among the Ancients, when they perceived themſelves to draw near to death, to call for ſome one, to whoſe care they would commit their children, and delivering them into their hands, beſeech them to have a tender eye over them, and to provide for them what ſhould be moſt convenient: ſuch as *Oedipus* in[q] *Sophocles* entreats of *Theſeus* in the behalfe of his daughters. —ὦ φίλον κάρα Δὸς μοι χειρὸς σῆς πίστιν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις, Ὑμεῖς τε παῖδες τῷδε· καὶ καταίνεσον Μήποτε προδώσειν τάσδ' ἑκὼν, τελεῖν δ' ὅσ' ἂν Μέλλῃς φρονῶν εὖ ξυμφέρειν αὐταῖς ἀεί. Not unlike is that of the[r] *Comœdian* under the perſon of *Chryſis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

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[o] Pollux. l. 3. c. 3. p. 136.

[p] Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

[q] Oedip. Col. p. 314.

[r] Ter. Andr. Act. 1. Sc. 5.

Acceſſi: vos ſemotæ: nos ſoli: incipit:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque ætatem vides:
Nec clam te eſt quam illi nunc utræque inutiles
Et ad pudicitiam & ad tutandam rem ſient.
Quod ego te hanc per dexteram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perque hujus ſolitudinem
Te obteſtor ne abs te hanc ſegreges, non deſeras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco:
Sive hæc te ſolum ſemper fecit maxumi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus,
Te iſti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona noſtra hæc tibi committo, & tuæ mando fidei.
Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, *mors continuo ipſam occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the uſe was to nominate in their Teſtaments and laſt Wils, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they ſhould defraud the Orphans of their patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were ſued with a Writ ἐπιτροπῆς, as (s) *Demoſthenes* did ſue his as ſoon as he came to age. But if the matter were not queſtioned within five yeares after the pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the (t) Law the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, of a Maſter againſt a Servant ingrateful for his manumiſſion, not doing his duty to his Maſter. Becauſe, as (u) *Demoſthenes* witneſſes, it was the nature of ſervants once made free, not only to be ingratefull, but alſo to hate their Maſters moſt of all men, as thoſe who had been conſcious to their ſervitude. It was enacted therefore that whoſoever was convicted of ingratitude ſhould again be made a bondſlave. * *Valerius Maximus. Age quid illud inſtitutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? quod convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur.* The Romans did not only acquit them of the liberty of the City

(which

s Plut. in vita ejus.

t Demoſth. p. 724. ll. 22.

u Pag. 465.

* Lib. 2. c. 6. p. 670.

(which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them alſo ſlaves, which puniſhment they terme (x) *Maximam capitis diminutionem*. Σίτου. If any man put away his wife he was to reſtore her portion again, if he refuſed he was ἐπ' ἐννέα ὀβολοῖς τοκοφορεῖν, that is, every moneth for one pound to pay nine *oboli* which the *Atticks* terme (y) [illegible], the revenew of her dowry. The Writ whereby he was ſued was Σίτου δίκη, for the repayment. (z) [illegible]. If any went to Law, as clayming Title to an houſe, he was firſt to ſerve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἐνοικίου, by which he demands his Rent for the time the defendant had the houſe, if it were for any parcel of land, there was a VVrit καρποῦ given out, for the provent and fruit thereof, afterwards (in both caſes alike) they proceeded to an οὐσίας δίκην, in which they claimed right and title to the houſe or land. Although in all theſe Trials the defendant were caſt, yet could he keep juſtly either houſe or land but if in a third triall, which they call ἐξούλην, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquiſh his poſſeſſion. This ἐξούλη alſo is a Writ againſt thoſe that would caſt an inhabitant out of his houſe, it being termed from ἐξίλλειν, to throw forth. [a] It is alſo a VVrit of Execution againſt any overthrown in the Court, & fined a thouſand Drachmes, which at ſuch a day he was to pay; and if he laid it not down upon the nayle, there went forth a VVrit ἐξούλης, to make enter upon the lands and poſſeſſions of him ſo caſt. It is alſo a Right againſt any who will not ſuffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publike, to reap the fruit thereof. VVho either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. z Εἰς δατητῶν αἵρεσιν. VVhen two had been partners in eſtates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refuſed, he might be conſtrained to it by the VVrit. Βιαίων, Becauſe the Market place among the Greeks was the fitteſt to cheat & coſen in, as [b] *Anacharſis* was wont to ſay, therefore the *Athenians* enacted that none ſhould buy in the Market place, (to which the *Scythian* wiſeman pointed likewiſe, ſaying, that

they

x Juſtin Inſt. l.1.T.16.

y Demoſt.p. 733.

z Dem.pag. 655.n 58.

a Vlp.in Dem. p.340.

b Apud Laer. p.74.

they forbad to speak false, and yet did ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκας) if any man had bargained for any thing, and another sued and doubted of the right of it. c he might require the seller to confirme the lawfulnesse of the thing sold, and maintaine it against all controversie, otherwise the seller was liable to Βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the most part *Græcâ fide*, with ready Mony, as d *Scaliger* & e *Casaubon* truly interpret it, f *Turnebus*, *Repræsentatâ pecuniâ*: yet sometime gave they Earnest onely to make the thing sure, which the *Greeks* and *Latines* call (g) ἀῤῥαβὼν, from the h *Hebrew* ערבן. This seems to me to have been the hundreth part of the Mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as i *Stobæus* out of *Theophrastus*. Where you may read likewise that it was the custome, when any thing was to be sold, to bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some threescore daies before. Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a suit in Law, by k *Pollux* his words I may conjecture, goods or Mony privily taken away. Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. VVhen any should offer to take another mans servant, and make him free against the will of the Master, which the Greeks terme εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. Ἀμφισβήτησις is a suit about neernesse of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without issue of his own body. Παρακαταβολή. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as neer of blood, or upon some other conditions: from παρακαταβάλλειν; because he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, saies m *Budæus*: but if publique, the fift. n Διαμαρτυρία. VVhen any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in controversie, and is ἐπίδικος, as a true heir being still alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Leochares*. Ἐπίσκηψις. VVhen any shall try to falsifie the διαμαρτυρία. Ἀντιγραφή. VVhen men went to Law about kinred, as as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

Ἀγχιστεία

c Pollux. l. 8. c. 6. p. 385.

d In Auson. Lect. l. 2. c. 6.

e In Theoph. Char. p. 312.

f Adversariorum l. 4. c. 13.

g Don. Quod prius datur, ut reliquum reddatur. in Ter. Heaut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

h Vide Dasque in Basil. Sel.

i Sermone 42.

k Onomast. l. 8. c. 6. p. 384.

l Demost. p. 718. n. 29.

m Pand. Prio. p. 100.

n Dem. p. 620. n. 78.

Here followeth the termes promiscuous, private and publique which are publique and lawfull for any to prosequute: sc. Pollux pag. 386.

Ἀπροστασίου. All ſtrangers in *Athens* were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my moſt worthy Schoolmaſter, the glory of his time [o] Mr. *Mathew Buſt* hath obſerved, whom for honours ſake I name) or elſe they might be queſtioned, & if they were convicted their goods were ſold and put into the City Treaſury. Ἀχαριστίας of ingratitude againſt thoſe who ſhewed not themſelves thankfull to thoſe who had well deſerved of them. Ξενίας the ſame with ἀπροστασίου, when any will reckon himſelf among the number of Citizens who had never been made free, by which hee purchaſed impriſonment, until ſuch times as there was a Court kept, and then he was ſold. Μαρτυρεῖν when a man is eye-witneſs of a matter, Ἐκμαρτυρεῖν, When another witneſſes from the report of him that ſaw it. Ψευδομαρτυριῶν falſewitneſſe, which to proſecute in Law they term ἐπισκήψασθαι ψευδομαρτυριῶν. Λιπομαρτύριον, when one was eye witneſſe, and promiſed to teſtifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call κλητεύειν, after which citation the party was to be at Court, or forſwear that he ſaw not the matter, or was not preſent, otherwiſe he was to pay a thouſand drachmes, in which ſumme to be fined the *Attick* Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλητεύσαντας. Δωροξενία, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. Δεκασμοῦ againſt thoſe that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας of a man convinced of idleneſs, which once taken, *Draco* puniſhed the delinquent with loſs of the City priviledges. *Solon*, not unleſſe he were thrice delinquent. Λιποναυτίου, When any of the Marriners ran away from their ſhips. Ἀναυμαχίου, When the Marriners that ſtayed in the Ships would not fight, if occaſion required, ψευδεγγραφῆς when any would falſly accuſe, there was likewiſe againſt them a Writ ἐπιβουλεύσεως. Ψευδοκλητείας. Againſt thoſe that unjuſtly cite to the Court. Δωροξενίας when any is accuſed of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to eſcape free. Παρεγγραφῆς, when any

[o] In Epiſt. Dedic. ſuo Euchaitenſi præfixa ad Richar. Cantuarienſem Archiepiſcopum.

any was accuſed of making a decree or Law contrary to former ſtatutes. This accuſation was called παρανομία, becauſe the accuſer ſwore that it was againſt the Lawes, or unjuſt, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. Δοκιμασία, was an examination of the Magiſtrates whether they were fit to govern, or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Luſt, and incontinency, whether they had not ſpent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blameable, whereupon they were diſcarded the priviledges of the Citty, and not ſuffered to plead, or ſpeake publikely. Εὐθύνη, An account of the publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and diſpaching Ambaſſages, made to the Tenne *Logiſtæ* (for the breach of which went out a Writ Ἀλογίου λόγον ἀποδοῦναι, *Rationem reddere*) if concerning injuries given to the judges. Προβολὴ an accuſation againſt thoſe who are ill affected toward the Common-wealth, made by the decree of the people, and ſuch as are well willers to the ſtate. Προβολαὶ likewiſe are accuſations againſt men injurious, ἐξολεύοντες,[a] and ſuch as are delinquent againſt their feſtivalls, as the oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Midias*. Προωμοσία, An oath which the accuſer tooke that he would juſtly accuſe. (q) Ἀντωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Ἐξωμοσία, an oath of Ambaſſadors or men choſen for ſtate ſervice, that by reaſon of ſicknes they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they pleaſe. It is likewiſe the oath of one called to witneſſe, wherein he ſweares that he knowes nothing of the buſineſſe. Ἀπωμοσία, when others ſhall ſweare that pretended weakneſſe was only a ſhift to put off the burthen of publique office which the State laid on them. Ὑπωμοσία, an accuſation of a Law or decree unprofitable, againſt the motioner, as above ſaid. Παραγραφὴ, & διαμαρτυρία, when a man ſhall object a caſe not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be ſuch, and ſuch, & not as it is. *ex. gr.* for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λιποταξίου, and I accuſe him of

[a] Lib. Arg. Midianam.

(q) Ulpian in Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit λιποταξίου, or objection of the time paſt, within which ſpace the ſuit was to be commenced, or that it ſhould be handled in ſuch a Court, and not in ſuch, as wilfull Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evaſion if the caſe fell, it was termed ἄκυρος. Ἀντιγραφὴ, when he that is ſued puts a Bill againſt the plantif in like manner. But if the defendant (I call ἀντιγραφόμενον ſo) were caſt, he payed ἐπωβελίαν. [r] Μὴ οὖσα, when a man is ſummoned to anſwer before the Arbitri a controverſie, if he ſwear that he is ſick, or pretends a journey from home, and appeares not at the day appointed, he was caſt in ἐρήμην, *Eremodicio*, as if he ſcorned to come, or were obſtinate, he ought within ten daies to ſue out μὴ οὖσαν, wherein he reproved the ſentence, and made it of no effect, ſo as it came to its firſt ſtate againe. But if he could not obtaine a μὴ οὖσαν, having before ſworn that he would ſtand to the award of the Judges, their determination ſtood in full ſtrength and power, & he was conſtrained to pay 1000 drachmes (as [f] Ulpian) which was the mulct appointed by the law: for the diſcharge whereof he put in good ſecurity. Ἀντιλαχεῖν δίκην, When any was abſent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to anſwer thereunto, he was fined, as conſcious of Eremodicium, and if within the ſpace of two Moneths he did not renew the ſuit (which is ἀντιλαχεῖν τὴν δίκην) he was ſure to pay the fine. Ἐνεπισκήψασθαι, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, & publiquely ſold, ſomewhat as debt to him, or ſay that part belongs to him, the ſtate would narrowly ſearch into it, which thing they term ἐνεπίσκημμα. Πρόσκλησις, is a citing of him before the *Archon* in controverſy about inheritance, or a virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintif did not warn the defendant a [illegible], the ſuit dyed, and ſuch actions are called [illegible] [t] [illegible], is as letting a caſe fall, or diſſolving it upon ſome witneſſe, oath or confeſſion extorted by torments, & the like. Ἔφεσις is an appeal from one Court to the

[r] Vlpian in Dem. 334.

[f] In Dem. p. 340.

[t] Dem. p. 623.

the other, as from the Senate to the people; and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to ſome forrainers in another country. Ἀτίμητος δίκη when there is no more fine laid upon a man than what his adverſary did ἐπιγράφειν, write down at the lower end of his Inditement, of which cuſtom ſomewhat hath before been ſpoken. Βολίτου δίκη, Againſt ſuch as ſtole Oxe-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of thoſe that are put in the Court for triviall matters the Proverb [w] Βοῦς ἐπὶ δίκην. Ἀσεβείας of impietie againſt their gods, as *Ariſtotle* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenſes*, which he engraved on a ſtatue at *Delphos*. For revealing myſteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted he was put to death, as one the contrary the accuſer if he got not the better. Προδοσίας, of being falſe to the ſtate, the puniſhment was death, and after that, that they ſhould be caſt out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. [v] Ἀγραφίου, If any owed to the City Treaſury, and his name were regiſtred, and before the diſcharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they ſued him before the *Theſmothetæ* ἀγραφίου; but if his name was never entered, he was proſecuted by an ἔνδειξιν. Μεταλλικαὶ proper only to ſuch as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stannaries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devonſhire* her ſiſter. [x] Lyable to this Court were they who ſhould thruſt any man from his worke, who ſhould digge within another mans liberties, who ſhould bring weapons thither, I ſuppoſe to take away Minerals by violence, who ſhould kindle any fire in the Mines, &c. Who ſhould offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to doe was death, as [y] *Plutarch* tels us. There was likewiſe ἀγράφου μετάλλου againſt the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new worke were to acquaint the overſeers apointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coine might come to the publike Treaſury. Now if any preſumed

[w] Ariſtoph. Sch. p. 3. 28 Laertius in vita.

[v] Dem. cont. Theocr. pag. 7. 13. n. 76. 77.

[x] Dem. cont. Pantæ. p. 567. n. 51, 52.

[y] In vitis Decem. Rhet. p. 453.

med to work (who had not made it known to the officers, it was lawful for any to accuse him ἀργίας γραφήν. Ἀφορμῆς δ. About mony put out to the mony changers.[ζ] For ἀφορμὴ among the *Atticks* is the ſame that ἐνθήκη in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Jure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they uſed ἀφορμὴ for means and ſuſtenance, [a] ἀφορμὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικάζων & καταδικασάμενος have this difference, that [b] καταδικάζων is the Judg that gives ſentence, καταδικασάμενος is he that put in the controverſie, to be the means that the ſentence paſt againſt the defendant. [c] Ἄφεσις is when a man is deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to diſcharge all; and therefore deſires the people that a part thereof might be remitted.

[ζ] Argum. Phorm. Orat. p. 554.

[a] Sch. Eurip.

[b] Med. p. 368.

[b] Ulpian in Med. p. 368.

[c] Idem in Dem. p. 450.

LIBER QVARTVS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that roſe of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the ſervice of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and the over favourable name of ἑταίρα will ſufficiently teſtifie. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus*. Ουρανία ([a] *ſi diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muſes, [b] or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus* Πάνδημος. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Κάλλος οὐράνιον, & Κάλλος πάνδημον. Δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω κατ' ἀνθρώπους κάλλη πλανᾶσθαι, τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὥσπερ τοῦ κάλλους αἱ χορηγοὶ θεαί. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οὐράνιον ἀχθόμενον τῷ θνητῷ κάλλει δεδέσθαι, ζητεῖ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ταχὺ φεύγειν· τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἔρριπται κάτω καὶ ἐγκυλινδεῖται τοῖς σώμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But *à diverticulo*. The ſacrifices of the firſt Temple, were Ἀσινότερα, with a little more ſtate and chaſtity then became her; but thoſe of the laſt, *ῥᾳδιουργότερα*, as *eaſie*, and as wicked as her

ſelf:

[a] Pauſanias.

[b] οὐρανία, a Play ſo called

ſelf? For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon's* owne appointment proſtitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the Κεραμεικῷ, [c] or the Σκίρῳ (thoſe καταγώγια Ἀφ-ροδίσια) or any other of the places abuſed to luſt. Nay thoſe *ſinks*, [d] beſides *places* for the purpoſe, they had *garments* alſo for the purpoſe, and flowers on the garments too, Τὰ Ἀν-θινὰ, *floridas veſtes*, apparel fit for ſuch *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her ſervice the *Athenians* are ſaid to have received frō the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Aſſyrians*. *Fides penes Authorem* [e] *ſit*. The faſhion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the reſt like a woman (to ſhew ſhee had a place in the *Ditches* too [f] as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd luſt to either of the Sexes) inſomuch that many have been ſcrupulous whether they ſhould call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for there is one that ſayes

——*Pollentemque Deum Venerem*. Which *Macrobius* himſelf commends for the beſt; and therefore in *Virgil. Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reads

Diſcedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hoſtes
Expedior— and not *Deâ*, and ſo *Ariſtophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, in the *maſculine gender*. But, now this makes more work, & therefore (to plaiſter two walls with one potfull of plaiſtring) they made it a cuſtom, *ei ſacrificiū* [*] *facere viros cum veſte muliebri, Mulieres cū virili. Quod eandē & Mas, & Fœmina æſtimaretur, for the men to ſacrifice to her in womens apparell, and women in mens*. If it be ſo, you may ſay *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you pleaſe. I read of no ſuch thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the [g] Poet (becauſe ſhee was ſuch a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddeſs with ἀ τῶ θεῶ; as *Theocritus* [h] does *Hecate*, with ὁ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοισι; an *appellative* of the *maſculine gender*: Nor is it enough, that the Mother is thus religiouſly woo'd, and adored. but the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too. And if

Her

[c] Pauſanias.

[d] Cloacæ.

[e] Cœl. Rhod.

[f] Inter Socraticos notiſſima foſſa cinædos. Juven. Sat. 2.

[*] Philochorus, cited by Macrobius.

[g] Ariſtophanes Act. 5. ſc. 2.

[h] In φαρμακευτ. 5.

Her due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be leſs than a *Calf*, neither was it:

Ῥέξω πόρτιν ἔρωτι ϗ αὐτᾷ βῶν Ἀφροδίτᾳ.

ſayes *Theocritus*: and *Amori Litari* to ſacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Me thinks he might have been content to ſit ſtill in his Mothers Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxis*, and crowned with flowers) and have ſoard * with his wings no higher. But the Temple of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Ψίθυρος, do more then *whiſper* what cauſe he had to be ſo proud, and how amorous this People has been.

* Alatus.

CAP. II.

De Pæderaſtia.

TO omit the Τριβάδες and the Abomination of the *Women* one with another changing [i] τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν, *the natural uſe into that which is againſt nature*, give me leave to ſpeak a little of their Παιδεραστίας, or παιδοπιπίας, and the Ἀσχημοσύνην, [k] practiſed by *Men* upon their own Sex. The firſt that ever taught

—— *Amorem*

In teneros transferre mares ——

(if we may beleeve *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the *Roman* was, *Lippis & Tonſoribus notum*. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Perſians* deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough to believe, when I read thoſe words of *Cornelius* [l] *Nepos*, *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis, quã plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and thoſe concerning *Alcibiade*, in another. *Ineunte adoleſcentiâ amatus eſt à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himſelf afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that *double-Cappa-rougery* as well as [m] *Pauſanias*, or [n] *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* * *Sectaries*. The *Cretians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Ariſtot.* ſay true, made a law for toleration of it. The [o] *Megarenſes* had

[i] Ep. ad Rom. c.1. v.26.
[k] Ibid. v.27.
[l] Initio lib. de Excell. Imp.
[m] Æmil. Prob.
* Plato in Symp.
[n] Socratici κίναιδοι.
[o] Athenæus.

had their *Kiſſing-matches*, when he that could kiſſe ſweeteſt was led away in pomp *Corollis onuſtus*; only thus much is ſaid in commendation of the *Lacedemonians* & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Luſt to the perſon of a ſlave. Nay p *Ælian* (who makes bold to vary from other authors in ſeveral relations) goes farther, and ſaies Σπαρτιάτιν γυναῖκας Ἀρρένων [illegible] ἀυτῶν, but how true that is, I know not, I am ſure their τὰ παιδικὰ, and οἱ Παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι tell in *plain ſong* what they loved: though I confeſſe, I have found no ſuch feats among them, as that of q *Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refuſing to ſubmit to his luſt. One word more & I have done. He that was inſpired with ſuch a love as this, (as if they had uſed the trick of r *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of εἰσπνήλος or ἀΐτας or rather εἰσπνήλας, as *Callimachus* hath it;

Μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνήλαις ἶσον ἐπεὶ Κρονίδῃ.

By which word (ſaith the *Etimological Dictionary*) is denoted, ὁ ὑπό τινος ἐρώμενος (or rather ἐραστὴς) εἰσπνεόμενος, one *inſpired*, ſhall I ſay, or *beloved*; for ſo ſignifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy ſo *perdite* as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we ſay) or *ſpit in his mouth*, or give him *Manſum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Αὐτοὶ γοῦν ἐδόκουν τι τῆς ἀγάπης εἰσπνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἐρᾶν ἢ φιλεῖν ἐσπνεῖν λέγουσι, and ſo *Heſychius* ſaies of ἐμπνεῖν too, ἐμπνεῖ μου ἐρᾷ μου, φιλεῖ με. This was all (as he ſayes) or (as I ſay) it ſhould have been all; for a man *may love his houſe wel enough, though he doe not ride upon the ridge.* However, I muſt confeſs they had ſo much care ſtill of the *Commonwealth*, notwithſtanding their *private pleaſures*, as not to give a voice to one whome they knew to be guilty of ſo much *Mollities*, as to *ſcratch his head with one finger*. Inſomuch that if a man had ſued for an Office to give a teſtimony of his *virtue*, and Manlike diſpoſition, hee was fain to lift up his Arms, and ſhew his hair in his Arm-pits.

—— Χειροτονητόν.

p *L. 3. Var. Hiſt. c. 12.*

q *Lycoph.*

r *Inque vices fuerat captatus anhelitus oris.*

[illegible] ſaies *Ariſtophanes*. And good reaſon for this practice, for,

Dura per brachia ſetæ
Promittunt atrocem animum — ſaies *Perſius*. And therefore the Woman ſ that deſired to be taken for a Man, thought this the beſt Argument ſhe could uſe

ſ Apud *Ari-* ſtoph.

[illegible]
[illegible] loved.

Whereas on the contrary, thoſe that had the fore-head to ſeem (as they were) effeminate, uſed the ſame tricks, which the *Romans* are ſaid to have uſed (for which ſervice they had their [illegible], or *alipilarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as ſmooth as they could.

But I have ſaid too much of ſo odious a Love, *as ſhould not indeed be named among us*. I will now proceed to ſpeak of a chaſter *Venus* (notwithſtanding that *Menelaus* in t *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis ſexuum diverſitatem generato amore ſociavit*, as u *Apuleius* ſaid in his Prayer.

t Achill. Tat. Lib.2.
u Metam. l.11.

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen firſt they liſted themſelves into the ſervice (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) ſome of them made it ſuch a ſolemn buſineſſe, as to be formally initiated, like ſo many Prieſts. [illegible] μυσταγωγήσεις. Saies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe*. Ἔτι σὺ βέβηλος [illegible] Ἔρωτος, ſaies *Iſmenius* x to his Miſtreſſe, alluding (it may be) to ſuch Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, y *Literis ignorabilibus prænotatos*.

*Achil. lib.2.
x Euſtath. l. 5.
y Loco ante laudato.
z Hieroglyphicis.

Well it ſeems *Venus* had her z μύστας too, as well as *Ceres* for her Prieſts, though they were not under an enjoyned ſilence, as the others were, yet the greateſt part of their talking was under the Roſe.

Conſcius omnis abeſt Nutu ſigniſque loquũtur. And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whiſperer* ψιθυρὸς for nothing, ſeeing ſpeaking through the teeth, and *whiſpering* thorow the walls, like *Pyramus*[b] and *Thisbe*, was ſo commonly uſed by his followers. Such as that [illegible] in *Euripides*; [c] *ſuccrotilla vocula Fæminina fabulare*, *ſuccrotilla vocula* ſaies one, [illegible] [d] ſaies another, of *Iſmene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by ſtealth; for what were all their pleaſures but *furta*? What is *Cupid* [e] but a *Thief*. No wonder then if Lovers uſed to worſhip the Moon, and the Night be the blinde boyes Holy-day. [f] κλεπτῶν γὰρ ἡ Νύξ, ſayes one (like that of the Scoliaſt upon *Theocritus* [illegible] νυκτὸς) for the greateſt part of their employments were not able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar* as I take it, ſays the cuſtom was, for the Man to worſhip the Sun, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the mans aime [g] was to have the Suns help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans the Moons, in bringing her [h] *children* to light.

Beſides theſe, Θεὸς ὁ Πὰν ὁρκωτής, [i] *Pan* had his worſhip too. But for any thing I can perceive (through ſome of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind, ——'Ω τῷ Θεῷ [illegible]) whatſoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looſneſs in ſuch buſineſſes to *ſwear* and *forſwear*, as faſt as they liſted, whiles *Jupiter* ſtood by and laught —*Perjuria ridet amantum*. inſomuch that Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος, a *Love-oath*, became but a proverb at laſt, as being accounted [illegible], not deſerving puniſhment if it were taken; nay if *Plato* in *Sympoſio* ſay truth, [illegible] Ἀφροδίσιον [illegible], the Gods gave them leave; as having done *hæc eadem Juvenes*, the ſame themſelves once, and none can play the [k] *knave better than an Abbot that hath been a Monk.*

a *Ovid. Met. lib.4. fab.4.*

b *Ovid. Met. lib.4. fab. 4.*

c *Titinnius.*

d *Euſtath.*

e *Theocritus* ſaies he ſtole honycombs. *Id.* 20.

f *Eurip.*

g *Venerem cum Marte deprehendit. Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab.6.*

h *Luna parturientibus adeſt.*

i *Longus in Paſtoral. l. 2.*

k French proverb.

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Indiciis.

NOw to know whether ſuch an one were in Love or not (though they ſay, *Love & the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a Feaſt, they took ſpecial notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we uſe to do of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona.* But I take too much upon me to determine ſo ſoon of the reaſon; for [l] *Athenæus* ſayes it hath been a riddle a thouſand yeares before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, διὰ τί οἱ στεφανούμενοι, λυομένων τῶν στεφάνων, ἐρᾶν λέγονται, and he himſelf hath ſerved up no leſs than eight other reaſons; but I know never a one better than another to give you a taſte. Another ſign that they were in Love was the *tinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho* Βομβεῦσι δ' ἀκουαί μοι, and *Catullus*,

—— Sonitu ſuopte
Tintinant aures, ——

To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they tooke a leafe (whether of *Poppy*, or what it was I know not) they called it πλαταγώνιον *quaſi* πλαταγώνιον ἀπὸ τῶ πλαταγεῖν τ̄ ἀγκύλην) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumb of the left hand (as our children uſe to do with us) ſtruck it with the right, If it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not they gave a ſigh; out alaſs!

Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλέφιλον ποτὶ μαξάμενον πλατάγησεν; ſayes *Theocritus Idyll.* 3. So [m] at their Feaſts they had a trick, to faſten a long ſtick in the ground, with another upon it (in the faſhion of the croſs Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it: Under the Scales ſtood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a ſtatue of Braſs, gilded and called by the name of Μάνης ([n] once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for ſuch as were in Love (with the ſame Woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who ſhould carry it, to take each his

[l] Lib. 15. Deipnos.

[m] Ariſtoph. Schol. in Pace.

[n] Id. in Avibus.

his phiale of Braſs (τὸν κότταβον) to ſtand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he liſted, with a ſudden turne of the hand (ἀγκύλην they call it, and thence κότταβοι ἀγκυλητοὶ) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown they called λατάγην from λάταξ, the *klat* or the ſound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could doe this ſo well, as to make his ſcale ſink, and ſtrike the image hardeſt on the head (οἱ μὲν χυθῆ τῷ ὤτῳ, ſo that ſome of the Wine leapt out upon him, ſaith the Scholiaſt) preſumed preſently upon the love of his Miſtreſs, and had his κοττάβιον or his Cake (the uſual reward of victory in moſt of their playes) for his labour, ſometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flaſh, it was counted as lucky for a Lover, as the *crack of the Leafe.* Thus to drink and play, they called κοτταβίζειν (as κότταβος was the name of the cup and the play too) and ſeldom a drinking match without it,

Ἐπαιδὲς κοτταβίζειν
Συβαρίζειν
Ἰὼ ἰὼ κεκραγέναι.

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gamboll they are aſhamed to own themſelves, and therefore turn it off upon the people of *Sicily.* I might ſpeak more of κότταβος, were it either fitter for the preſent diſcourſe, or not ſpoken of ſo largely, and by ſo many, as *Athenæus, Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it ſuffice onely to have minded you of the folly ſo uſual among Lovers in thoſe times according to that of *Callimachus*

Πολλοὶ καὶ φιλέοντες ἀκόντιον ἧκαν ἔραζε
Οἰνοπόται Σικελὰς ἐκ κυλίκων λάταγας.

CAP. VI.

De Philtris & incantamentis amatoriis.

BUT what if ſhe could not be wooen over by fair means? was there then never an Arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but firſt they muſt get ſomething or other of hers into their poſſeſſion, and work upon that, according to the Nurſes advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*,

Euripides Hipp.v. 512.

> Δεῖ δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου δεῖ τι τοῦ ποθουμένου
> Σημεῖον, ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πέπλων ἄπο
> Λαβεῖν, συνάψαι τ' ἐκ δυοῖν μίαν χάριν.

And if they could come to the ſight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a faſcination. ὀφθαλμὸν τινὰ βάσκανον ἐπιπέμψαντα, he threw a *ſheeps eye* at her (ſaith * *Heliodorus*) The proverb, that *Love comes in at the window, and goes out at the Door*, may not abſurdly be underſtood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls θύρας τῆς ψυχῆς, the Doors of the Soul, which ſeem to be the way and the paſſage by which the two loves go in and out. ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδός ἐστιν, ſaith *Muſæus*: or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the *other*. *Ὀφθαλμὸς ἡ λαμπὰς τ' ἔρωτι, ſaith * *Euſtathius*, and ſo * *Lucius* makes the *ſight* the firſt ſtep * in *Cupid's* ladder of Love. To try therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would go to the houſe where ſhe lived, and the faſhion being for the Daughter οἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the Stranger: (as *Soſthenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Iſmenias*) after the old folk had drunk; when it came to their Miſtreſſes to drink to them, they obſerved at what part of the cup ſhe drank, to be ſure to drink at the ſame, according to that of the * Poet

* Lib.4.

* Lib. 3.
* in ἔρωτι.
* Oculi ſunt in amore duces.

> *Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis*
> *Pocula; quâque bibit parte Puella, bibe.*

* Ovid. de Arte Am. lib 1.

Forſooth they thought thus to have a kiſs *mediatè* at the ſecond hand wafted over in the cup ἐναπέπεμψεν τὸ φίλημα, *Ariſtænetus* calls it, not to *kiſs the cup*, but *to cup the kiſs*.

Nam tranſmiſſa tuis ad me fert ſuavia labris
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* tranſlating that verſe,

Πορθμεύει γὰρ ἐμοὶ γλυκὺ κύλιξ [illegible] τὸ φίλημα. Such a kiſs they uſed to call ἀποστολιμαῖον φίλημα (*miſſivum oſculum*, or a kiſs conveighed in a cup, like words in a *Letter*) as both *Achilles* and *Euſtathius* doe. And by this time they have ſeen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the *eye*. Next they will try what they can doe with the *Tongue*, by *inchanting ſongs and tales*; or by the *Hand*, with *Gifts* and *Philtres*: ἐπῳδαὶ ἀφ᾽ ὧν [illegible] ἐφέλκειν [illegible] ἐπῳδῶν, καὶ ἴυγγες, ſayes *Xenophon*. Ἴυγξ more eſpecially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *turquilla*, or *regulus*, or *paſſerculus*; the laſt is moſt likely becauſe of its ſalacity) whoſe tongue they made uſe of to ſuch purpoſes, putting it under the knap of her Ring with the paring of her nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for ſuch a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Eccho* ſaies *Callimachus*) becauſe ſhee bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the ſame name, and of a making very ſutable to her former condition, and the uſes for which ſhe ſerves. For (according to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck & tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail; and puniſhed ſhe is enough for her roguery; for (beſides that way I told you of before) ſometimes they ty'd her [illegible] to a wheele (as I think) and chanted a charm as they whirled it round, ſometimes (at leaſt the entrails) to a [illegible] of wax, cauſing both together to conſume in the fire. But what will you ſay, if all this while it bee nothing but an inſtrument pleaſantly tun'd and playd; as ſome ſay it is, and that it is therefore commonly uſed for any pleaſant thing, or inticement. Ἴυγγι ἕλκομαι ἦτορ ſaies* *Pindar*, or any other Magical Love toy, ſuch as *Ungues*, muſcles, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twiſted wool, and divers other gambols of the ſame branne according to that which I have ſeen of *Lælius* an ancient Poet.

* *Nem. Od.*4. vid. *Theoc. Pharmaceutr. Luſiſtrate prope finem.*

Trochiſcili, Ungues, tænia
Aureæ, Illices bitortilæ.

With no ſtronger chains than thoſe of *twiſted wooll* (*πλεκ-τὸν ἔριον **Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather beleeve that all the gods had *laneos pedes*, woollen *feet*, as the proverb ſayes they had, than that any of them ſhould have *Laneas pedicas* woollen *fetters*. And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, could be content to lye faſt in thoſe bands all the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, becaus of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therfore calls *Saturni compedem exolutum*: I refer you for the reaſon to *Macrobius Saturn. lib* 1. *c.*8. Though I beleeve they intended no other than a Magicall tye upon the affection of the party. Yet they ſeem to have made uſe of *wooll*, rather than any other thing, becauſe it was ſo much in faſhion in ſuch kind of matters; for firſt, the girdle the woman uſed to wear, was made of *wooll*, twiſted and tyed with an *Hercules*, or a *True-lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Geniall bed*. Then the doors of the Bride-houſe, and the poſts of the doores, were bound about with woollen fillettings, and the Wife was to ſit upon a fleece for a Cuſhion. Yet how they uſed this πλεκτὸν ἔριον I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

* not ςυπ-τόν.

* Ἰλεεὶ πολτμ.

*Στέψον τὰν κελέβαν φοινικέῳ οἰὸς ἀώτῳ.

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in ſome other way. But thus much I have obſerved of their ordinary practiſes in ſuch Rogueries (too common with the women in theſe times) that whatever was done to the thing which they uſed

* *Theocrit. Pharmaceu.*

uſed they imprecated the ſame, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to repreſent. Thus [a] *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tyed up [b] *Alcmena*'s womb, *Digitis inter ſe pectine junctis.* I know not how. Thus [c] *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his love, would have ſcattered his bones in the meal, burnt his fleſh in the Bay, melted him away in the wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen Bowle, and have killed him with kindneſſe. Every one of which practiſes was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for ſucceſſe, as things that were fit to bee done neither by *day*, nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they uſed to make a man to love them, ſuch as [d] *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of in his *Epiſtles*, τὸ δὲ κηρὸν καὶ ἀπειλεῖν, καὶ τὸ παραγράφεσθαι, καὶ οἱ ἐπικάρπιοι ὄφεις, καὶ αἱ χρυσαῖ πέδαι, καὶ Θαΐδος, καὶ Λειτουργίαι, καὶ Λαΐδος φάρμακα. The κηρὸς may be thought to be the *Ceruſſa*, τὸ ψιμμύθιον, otherwiſe παιδέρωτα, or παραγράφιον, *Multicia*, or *Bombycina*, a kind of [e] διαφανοῦς ἐνδύματος, or a garment that hid the body ſo that it might be ſeen, *lucet ſic per Bombycina corpus*, ſaies [f] *Martiall*, ſuch Women uſed it.

[g] *Quæ tenui ſudant in cyclade, quarum*
Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.

It had the name ἀπὸ τῆς Ταραντίνων χρήσεως καὶ ἐσθῆτος, ſaith [h] *Pollux*, Ἐπικάρπιοι ὄφεις, are like to be σαῦραι *Lacertæ*, ſuch as ſhe in *Theocritus* would have uſed in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφεις worn about the wriſts, περικαρπίδες and the golden fetters I ſuppoſe to be ſtronger than woollen. But beſides all theſe there was μηλοβολεῖν, feats to be done by the throwing of an *Apple*. *Cydonium malum* I mean, reported to grow in the garden of *Venus*, and uſed at weddings (as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was ſitting in the Temple of [i] *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple with this inſcription, Μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι, or if you had rather have the Latine

Juro tibi ſane per myſtica ſacra Dianæ,

Me

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[a] *Ovid. Met. lib.* 9. *fab.* 4.

[b] *Ovid. Met. lib.* 9. *fab.* 5.

[c] *Theoc. Pharmac.*

[d] *Lib.* 8. *E.* 68.

[e] *Pollux.*

[f] *Lib.* 8. *Ep.* 6.

[g] *Juvenal. Sat.* 6.

[h] *Lib.* 7. *c.* 17.

Petulans, madidumque Tarentum.

[i] *Ariſtæn. lib.* 1 *Ep.* 10.

Me tibi venturam comitem ſponſamque futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhee *took*, when ſhe did but *read* the oath. And thus **Hippomanes threw back Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it, it was enough: which made k *Philenis*, being jealous of her ſiſter *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The l woman of *Theſſalie* are eſpecially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he ſaies) μαγεύειν ὅταν, ὥστε μὲν περὶ ἐπιέγειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνθρωπον ἐπιμαίνεσθαι γυναικὸς, &c. And ſo for the women of *Egypt* (I think the ſex hath ſtill had the Monoply of Magick) however the *Egyptian* m Souldier came to miſtake in the *Doſis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the potion. For inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Cæſonia* did her Husband *Caligula*, with an *Hippomanes*. Thoſe φίλτρα, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of ſuch herbs as diſpoſed the body to Venerie, ſuch as the σταφυλῖνος (rendered *Paſtinaca*) called by way of excellency, τὸ φίλτρον, ὅτι διεγερτικὸν ἐστὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ſaies *Euſtathius*. *Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his γαμικοῖς παραγγέλμασι, expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I hard of ſome that can do this, who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit-phyſick (as *Leucippe* did) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pauſanias* ſayes) they uſed to doe in *Achaia*; or elſe by Sacrifices or Charms, according as they imagined the cauſe. Whence thoſe words of the *Nurſe to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, & not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her owne Father.

Seu Furor eſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis;
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico luſtrabere ritu:
Ira Deûm ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.

* Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 11.
k Ariſten. lib. 1. ep. 25.
l Achil. Tat. l. 5
Theſſala vendit Philtra. Juvenal.
m Gorgias apud Tat. l. 4.
n Suetonius.
* Ovid. Met. l. 10. fab. 9.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Uſitato more ſignificandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heate (as indeed the ſoul is naturally inclined * ὥσπερ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ϗ διανοεῖσθαι, ϗ μνημονεύειν, οὕτω ϗ φιλεῖν to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care thoſe Græcian Women had of their Sweethearts. Inſomuch, that if you call to mind ſome of their choiceſt expreſſions thereof (eſpecially that of *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*) you cannot but be of * *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the difinition given by ſome of the old Philoſophers, who ſaid that it is, θεῶν ὑπηρεσία περὶ ἐπιμέλειαν ϗ σωτηρίαν νέων, Not to tell you, that ſometimes they *ſent* a wooing to the men, pray take but a taſt of their cuſtomes in this particular of expreſſing their love. To trim up their bodies as they did their σῶμα [a] with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doors (or τὰ ἐσώπια the parts of the houſe expoſed to ſight when the doors were open, ἀνεωχότων ὄντα τ̃ παριόντων, ſayes *Heſychius*) was an ordinary careſſe, though indeed (as [b] *Athenæus* ſaies) they intend it chiefly to the honour of Ερωτι. Τῷ μὲν γ̃ ἔρωτι ὡρισμένον ἄγαλμα, τοῦτο ϗ ναὸν ὄντα τὴν οἴκησιν στεφανοῦν, as making the body of a Sweetheart the Image, and his houſe the Temple of Love. The tokens they uſually ſent were Garlands and Roſes, τὰ στεφάνια μοι ϗ τὰ ῥόδα πέμπεις (ſaies *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) ſometimes bitten pieces of Apples, μῆλα ἀποδεδηγμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with thoſe expreſſions in faſhion among the Romans when they ſate at Table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morſels of meat, ſuch as [c] *Martila* would have *Pontia* ſend him, rather then a whole legge, or the like, or ſuch as [d] *Ovid* ſpeaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos prægustaverit ipſe,

* *Plut. in Solon.*

* *In vita Theſ.*

[a] *Euſtath. Iſm.*

[b] *L.* 15.

[c] *L.* 6. *Ep.* 7.

[d] *Amor. l.* 1. *El.* 4.

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

But I muſt tell you S. *Hieroms* [e] cenſure, *deguſtatos cibos blandoſque, ac dulces literulas ſanctus amor non habet, it ought not to be ſo amongſt you. Symmachus* upon thoſe words of the *Birds* in *Ariſtophanes* —ϗ πίςιν ἡμῶν σύνεςμεν, ſaies they were wont to gratifie one another with Birds, ſuch as Doves, and the σίττη, and the like. But theſe expreſſions I weigh but little, when I obſerve that ſcarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅπη τύχη ſaith the *Scholiaſt*) was paſſed by without writing [f] thereon the name of the party, in this form ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or κοῦρος καλὸς, for the word κοῦρος among the *Grecians* ſignified *amaſium, a Womans word,* like τῆνος in *Theocritus,*

[e] De vitâ Cleric. ad Nepotian.

[f] Diog. Laer. in Diadoro.

Ἴυγξ ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τ' ἄνδρα.

Inſtead whereof (ſay ſome) you ſhall read κῆμος in the *Comedian in Veſpis*, but I ſee no ſuch need of a correction, for hee ſpeaks of the Lawyer that was ſo much in love with the imployment of the Court, that the κημὸς [a] (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one ſuch thing or other ran ſtill in his mind, and therefore (ſaies he)

[a] Vid. p. 118.

——ἂν ἴδῃ γέ πυ γεγραμμένον
Τὸν πυριλάμπους ἐν θύρᾳ Δῆμον καλὸν,
Ἰὼν παρέγραψε Κημὸς Καλός.

In like manner the *men* dealt with the names of their *Miſtreſſes*, which they wrote ſometimes upon the very leaves of the trees according to that of *Callimachus*,

Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοισι κεκομμένα τόσσα φέροιτε
Γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὅσ' ἐρέουσι Καλήν.

Let on the leaves ſo many letters lye,
As my *Cydippe Fair* may ſignifie.

which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his [v] Ἔρωτες ſaies of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Venus.* Τοῖχος ἅπας ἐχαράττετο, ϗ πᾶς μαλακοῦ δένδρου φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν ἐκήρυσσεν, *not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed* VENUS FAIR. How glad would they have been, if they could have written them upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do: but no wonder they did as they did, having a *copy* written to them by Nature (for

—— *Inſcripti nomina rerum*
Naſcuntur flores ——) and an *example* given them by *Apollo* himſelf, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the ſame name to keep his *memory* alive when *he* was dead; not contented with that,

Ipſe ſuos gemitus foliis inſcribit, & Ai, Ai,
Flos habet inſcriptum ——

Ovid. Met. Lib. 10. Fab.5

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preſerved, and one half of his name, as the ſame Author hath it.

Littera communis mediis pueroque viroque
Inſcripta eſt foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ.

Lib. 13. Fab. 1.

But the vehement love of *Moſchus* to *Bion* his deceaſed friend thought thoſe lamenting interjections too little, unleſſe there were written a Κεῖνος καλὸς beſides upon the ſame Flower.

Νῦν Ὑάκινθε λάλει τὰ σὰ γράμματα, καὶ πλέον Αἶ Αἶ
Λάμβανε σοῖς πετάλοισι, καλὸς τέθνηκε μελικτὴς,

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὴ for her was ſure to be written, for *never ſeem'd Miſtris foul, and Priſon fair.* But for her part if ſhe were Κυάνοφρυν, or had black eye-brows ſhe was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregori Nyſſen*, καὶ ὀφρύων μέλαιναν περικεχυμένην τῷ ὄμματι, inſomuch that *Jul. Pollux* ſaies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if ſhe were ſomewhat big of ſtature; and therefore *Ariſtotle* in his Rhetorick, puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τοῦ σώματος, as he doth σωφροσύνην καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the moſt commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times eſteemed to be the τὸ κάλλος of a *man* I know not. It ſeems in *Ariſtotle*'s time it was counted moſt commendable, τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τούς τε πρὸς δρόμον ἢ πρὸς βίαν ἡδὺν ὄντα ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν. But I have talkt

Theocrit.

long of Love, or of *Robin-hood*, that never ſhot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for caſting away ſo much oyl and labour upon ſuch a ſubject, and (it may be) give his cenſure, that *Oratio eſt vultus animi*. But thoſe that know me will diſtruſt his Phyſiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am *in*, I will not ſtick but *properè ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptials themſelves.

Seneca Ep. 115.

* *Tacit.*

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unleſs the Wench were as yet *Acreba* (as *Varro* calls her) or σταφυλὴ ὀμφακίζουσα, but a ſower grape (as *Euſtathius*) and not yet ripe) *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed and yoaked together. The man did in the preſence of witneſſes, *promiſe himſelfe* after the manner of the Latin form, *ſe ſponſam poſt concubitum invitam non deſerturum*, and ſo gave her one μνῆστρον or other in *earneſt*: but the Woman ſhe was *deſponſſata*, promiſed or beſtowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promiſes of a Woman were falſe enough to make the ſaying among the French to be true,

Qui femme croit & aſne meſne,
Son corps ne ſera ia ſans peine.

And yet (it ſeems) though they feared ſhe might break a *promiſe*, they thought an oath to be ſtrong enough to *hold* her: For ſometimes at the conſummation of the buſineſs, they went both into the *Temple*, & there engaged themſelves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Iſis*, where the man ſwore ἀγαπήσειν ἀδόλως, and the Woman ἀνδρὸς πειθήσεσθαι; ϗ μὴ τὸν ἀποστῆναι δεσπότην. I do not remember that the *Athenians*

Achil. Tat. l. 5.

nians had that good-fellows-trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charitatis* & to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which [a] *Camma* is reported to have poiſon'd *Synorix* (whom ſhe pretended to Marry) for kiſſing her Husband. Or that they uſed the cuſtom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a ſword, related by [b] *Q. Curtius*. Suerely it had been a true *Roman conſecration*, if they had. The rites uſually obſerved at a Wedding are ſaid [c] to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly theſe. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would ſay to take her leave of the the[d] *Virgin*. Beſides this, before ſhe can ceaſe to be of the *herd* ſo the ἄζυγες * κόραι, take heed, *Great Diana* wil be clean out of patience, if ſhe have not a draught of the blood of a Heiſer calf, never yet married in the *yoak*, (and ſo the fitter for the *maid* that gives, and the *maid* that takes) and a crop of her hair beſides, according to that of *Euripides*.

[e] Μόσχοισι πρὸ γάμων, ὡς θεᾷ ποιεῖν χρεὼν
Ἀρτέμιδι

And therefore *Clytemneſtra* (ſpeaking of her daughter, whom they protended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband,

[f] Προτέλεια δ' ἤδη παιδὸς ἔσφαξας θεᾷ;

Whether he had ſeen the ſacrifice perform'd ? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, *ſhe* had not ſo much to *do* as to be a ſacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddeſſe of Aulis*, and be made a Calf her ſelfe: When as our woman, it wil ſerve *her* turn to κανηφορεῖν to *Diana* the goddeſs of *Virginitie*; that is, give her in a basket for a preſent to ſtop her mouth, ſome curious needle-work or other, with a prayer beſides to this purpoſe [g] Ἄρτεμι μὴ νεμέσα— *that ſhe would no take it amiſs if ſhe married*. But now I muſt tell you, that beſides thoſe rites of the κανηφόρια, there were others as ſolemn as they to be obſerved too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddeſs. The manner of them, and the occaſion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Beare growing tame, came and lived in the δῆμος of the *Phlavides*; inſomuch that at length a little girle durſt go ſo far and ſo near, as to play with it, but the Beare quickly grew to be in earneſt, and drew her blood for the *ſtake*; whereupon one of her Brothers ſhot the Bear and killed it. Preſently after this there happened a very great Peſtilence in the City; and the Oracle being ſought unto, anſwer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they muſt make a decree, that every girle in the City of *Athens*, ſome time or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a κροκωτὸς or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her ſelfe to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girle thus conſecrated, was her ſelf called ἄρκτος the [*] Bear, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Bear* (which me thinkes was very unfitting for a Maid) and ſometimes δεκατεύειν, becauſe commonly they deferred it till the laſt year, as ſhe did in [a] *Lyſiſtrate*.

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[a] *Alex. ab Alex. l.* 2 *c.* 5.

[b] *L.* 8.

[c] *Cæl. Rhod. l.* 7. *c.* 4.

[d] παρθένος *Minerva* ſo called.

[e] *Euripid in Iphigen. Aul. verſu* 11, 12.

[f] *ibid. v.* 711.

[g] *Theocr. Id.* 27.

[*] *Harpocr.*

[a] *Ariſtoph.*

Εἰ τ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ δεκάτις
Οὖσα τ' ἀρχηγέτις
Καταχέουσα κροκωτὸν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

Ἐν Βραυρωνίοις ſhe ſaies, becauſe it was to be done in the Feaſt of *Brauronia* kept in the Month of *Munichion* to the honour of the ſame *Diana*, who [a] is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a *V*illage of *Attica*, where *Pauſanias* (*in Atticis*) ſaies, that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, inſomuch that ſhe came to be called by the name of *Diana* [b] *Brauronia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can ſee, ſhe need not have been ſo ſcrupulous for diſpleaſing I know not whom, if ſhe had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who firſt inſtituted the contract of Matrimony, & was therefore called by the name of διφυὴς, ſaith [c] *Euſtathius* or elſe (according to the Scholiaſt upon [d] *Ariſtophanes*)

[a] *Athen. l.6.*

[b] P*auſan. in* Arcad.

[c] *Ad Odyſſ.* Σ.

[d] *In Plut.* Act.3. Sc.3.

ſtophanes) quaſi διὰ τὸ εὑρεῖν τὰς δύο φύσεις τοῦ τε πατρὸς, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς, becauſe he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father and Mother (as to *knowledg*) and in the way of a *certain* couple) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be known by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But ſome again ſay, he had this name, becauſe of his having the bodies of two diſtinct natures: in the uppper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as *he* ſaies (in *Veſpis*)

Ὦ Κέκροψ ἥρως ἄναξ τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν δρακοντίδη.

And others, becauſe of the many excellent Lawes which he made. Whereby he is reported ſo to have tam'd & civilliz'd the brutiſh conditions of the ancient people of *Athens*, that he ſeemed to have *new-moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*; in the ſenſe, that the ſtones have been ſaid to be turn'd into men, and the Trees into Lovers of Muſick. Of all the reaſons that are given, I like that beſt, which likes [c] *Rhodiginus*; who ſaies he was called by this name, becauſe the *children* did now appear to be διφυεῖς, *come of two*, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μονοφυεῖς, the Sons of a *Mother* only; nay hardly that, at ſuch time as the faſhion was to be *expoſ'd*, or *put out* to nurſing to Bears & Wolves and the like. But enough of this; for I have more worke for the Woman yet. She muſt Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the *paſt*, and in ſpecial manner to *Juno* γαμήλια, either as a *Pronuba* for the *preſent*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater familias* (as he in [a] *Plautus* cals her) for the *futura*. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition; and I ſhould be glad if *we Chriſtians* could anſwer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready αὐτὸς ἕτερος, &c. (as *Ariſtotle* ſaies in his [b] *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the leaſt. The Sacrifices performed to *Juno* went under the ſeverall names of προγάμεια, προτέλεια, and προτέλειοι εὐχαί, ἱερὰ τέλεια, and γαμήλιοι δοχαί, indeed the two

[c] Lib. c. 25.

[a] In Amphitr. Act. 2. Sc.

[b] Lib. c. 4.

firſt are ſometimes the ſame that ἀνάβολα, the gifts ſent before the wedding; and the word προτέλεια is uſed alſo ſometimes in relation to others as well as to *Juno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verſe of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another (c) place of the ſame Tragedy, you have the Greek Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they ſaw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus ſpeaking;

(c) *V.* 433.

Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὴν νεάνιδα
Αὐλίδος ἀνάσσῃ τίς νιν ἄξεταί ποτε.

(d) *Jul. Pol. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

And ſo ſometimes to the (d) *Parcæ*, whom they had reaſon to remember, if they meant to be *ſpar'd*, or to *ſpin* out their lives to the longeſt. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great deal more requeſt among Lovers, than any of the reſt, becauſe they had her name ſo oft in their mouthes. For among the *Latines*, when they would expreſſe themſelves in the moſt affectionate manner that might be, they uſed to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old dotard does his *Caſina* in the Poet * by the name of *Juno*.

* *Plaut. in Caſina Act.* 1. *Sc.* 3.

Eja mea Juno, non decet te eſſe tam triſtem tuo Jovi.

Adde hereunto the title of Ἡρα τελεία, (as there is alſo Ζεὺς τέλειος) under which ſhe was worſhipped, which (together with the word προτέλεια) muſt be ſo ſaid, either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as τελεσθῆναι was for γῆμαι) from whence comes τέλειον both the Sacrifice and the day, or from προτελεῖν to *initiate*, or from τέλειος *adultus*, as if onely ſuch as were of age (& οἱ ἐν τελείᾳ) * might be ſuffered to have the *happineſſe* to marry. Now *Juno adulta*, and *Jupiter adultus*, were the more religiouſly worſhipped at ſuch a time, ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων (ſaies *Suidas*) as being eſteemed in a manner the *Prytaneis*, and overſeers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of *cry* about *ſacrifices*, but you'l ſay the *Wool* is to come: onely ſome σπονδαὶ there muſt be, leſt any Roman ſhould grudg the Woman the name of a *Sponſa*. Now becauſe (it may be) I ſet you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will ſpeak a word or two more of *them*. The gifts

* Ariſtotle.

called by *Demosthenes* γαμηλία, was that which they ſent to the φράτορσι for the making of a Feaſt, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called ἕδνα (as they did alſo thoſe which they gave when they went a woing) But the ἄρτιος χιτὼν was a garment beſtowed upon the Husband by the wife (giving of apparrel was very uſual once both with the *Jew*, (a) & the *Gentile*) And you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she *gave a Cake to him that had a Paſty in the Oven*: for if ſhe *brought* her φερνὰς, ſhe had her ἀντίφερνα to *carry* away. Nor can you blame her for immodeſty in giving, who was to be *given* her ſelfe: for elſe (it may be) before it was come thus farre, ſhe might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme qui donne's abandonne*, *ſhe that gives is ſoon gotten*. The petty gifts then *given* by the Parents they call'd μείλια ἐπαύλια as were thoſe which were given *after* the Wedding. The dowry beſtowed upon her by her Father at the firſt, προῖξ: that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπίπροιξ. (thus ſome have thought good to diſtinguiſh, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be two free of their diſtinctions.) At her firſt coming to her husband, ſhe had beſtowed upon her by him and her friends τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was alſo the name of the day it ſelfe) otherwiſe called θεώρητρα, ὀπτήρια, ἀνθήματα and προσφθεγκτήρια, and all for the ſame reaſon, *viz.* becauſe thoſe gifts were given, *ut illa pateretur ſe videri*, ſaies (b) *Victorius*, to make her take off her vail, and be ſeen. In ſuch a way *Jupiter* is reported to have beſtowed upon *Proſerpina* the City of *Thebes*, according to thoſe verſes of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides in Phœniſſis*:

Τὴν ῥά ποτε Κρονίδης δῶρον πόρε Περσεφονείῃ
Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτε πρῶτον μὲν ὀπιπτεύουσα ἔμελλε
Νυμφιδίου ἀπείργοιο παρεκλίνουσα καλύπτρου.

Κάλυπτρον ſaies he, or καλύπτραν according to *J. Pollux*: for al-though

(a) Gen. c. 24. 5.

(b) Var. Lect. l. 25. c. 3.

though ſhe might now ſhow her face and be modeſt neverthe leſſe, yet *before*, ſhe ſtood behind a red vayl or hood, with which ſhe hid her ſelfe, & ſo deſerved the name of עלמה if it were for nothing elſe [a] but for that. This *Luteum* vail is otherwaies called ἰανός, in Latin *Flammeum*,[a] in Hebrew צעיף such a thing as *Rebeccah* had when ſhe met with her Husband, *Gen.* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when ſhe met with a worſe thing, *c.*38.19. The reaſon why they were not unveiled till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they ſay, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited by [b] *Cal. Rhodiginus*) delivered *vail'd* under theſe words τὰς μὲν κόρας ἄνδρας εὑρεῖν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σώζειν τοὺς ἔχοντας. the ſcope of the man, or the true reaſon of the cuſtome though I cannot eaſily hit, yet I may give a very great aim when I ſay,

Auctia fuga forma eſt—

(as *Ovid* ſaies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* purſued her) or when I expreſſe my ſelfe in the words of *Nonnus*.

Καὶ πλέον ἱμείρουσι καλυπτομένοιο προσώπου.

Men long to ſee a face thats hid, the more.

Indeed the caſe was otherwiſe with the Sophiſter *Hermocrates*, who having a Wiſe, that was none of the handſomeſt, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀνακαλυπτήρια, very handſomely anſwered to put it off, ἐγκαλυπτήρια μὲν ἂν πάντων λαμβάνειν, *I had more need to give her ſomewhat to let her vail alone, unleſſe ſhe were better than ſhe is*. Whether theſe *Flammea* were of the ſame making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were (as I have ſome cauſe ſo to think, by thoſe words of [a] *Iphigenia* as ſhe was going to be married, Ἐγὼ δὲ λεπτὸν ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων Ἔχουσ'--) then I muſt tell you, they were ſo thin, that their faces might well have been diſcovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen*, it ſeems, could ſee the flowers thorow them.

[b] Ὅς με χλοερὰ
Δρεπομέναν ἔσω πέπλων
Ῥόδεα πέταλα---

But

[a] See another reaſon in *Prov.* 3.19.

[a] *Juven.Sat.*2.

[b] *L.*13.46.

[a] In *Aul. v.* 372.

[b] *Eurip.* Hel.v. 150.

But this may be eaſily anſwered; for as (you know) a *mountain* that is a farre off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between; ſo again, one man is able to ſee another plainly thorow that which is ſufficient to hide *himſelfe*. And ſo much for the gifts at preſent, perchance you may have more anon. Now the cuſtome was for the Bride to be carried from her παρθενῶν Chamber to her Husbrnd, in a Coach (or ſome ſuch kind of thing) which the poore Girle in the *Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuſe) could terme little better then being *ferried* in *Charon's* boat. *Id. in Tauris v. 370, &c.

Ἅδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως
Ὅν μοι προσεῖπας πόσιν· ἐν ἁρμάτων δ' ὄχοις
Εἰς αἱματηρὸν γάμον ἐπόρθμευσας δόλῳ.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peleus's* ſon
You would me then have married,
When me to bloudy Nuptials
In Coach and fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather ſo much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he ſaies, he had done this office for *Helen* himſelſe:- Id. in Hel. v. 728.

Λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ' ἃς ϗ τετραόροις
Ἵπποισι συνοχλίζων παρέφερον· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροις
Σὺν τῷδε νύμφη δῶμ' ἔλειπες ὄλβιον.

(I make bold to trouble you with ſo much Greek, becauſe it explains the cuſtome ſo fully.) The ſong which they ſung as they went along, they called ἁρμάτειον μέλος, from ἅρμα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as ſoon as they came to the Bridegrooms door, *ut ſignarent illam ibi perpetuò manſuram, neque inde ullâ tempeſtate * receſſuram*; to ſhew that ſhe was never to return from thence again: juſt as *William* the Conquerour burnt his ſhips at *Pevenſey*, that ſo his Souldiers ſeeing their return to be deſperate, might Fight the more *deſperately* (as we uſe to ſay) or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφοδότης, or παράνυμφος that *Alex. ab Alex.

was

was ſent to fetch her, either ſate by his ſide in the ſame Coach, or elſe went along by her *Coaches* ſide in *another*, & was therefore called πάροχος from ὄχος; unleſſe that ſhe were either willing, or conſtrain'd to *foot* it, for then he could be but χαμαίπους a *Pedee*. This cuſtome for the husband to lead his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in faſhion among Kings and Princes) was ſure to be obſerved at his *ſecond Mariage*, for then (ſaies ᵃ *Euſtathius*) ὁ δίγαμος (ὁ δευτερόγαμος ſaies ᵇ *Pollux*) ὁ νυμφίον μετιὼν, he might not do it himſelfe, perhaps out of ſhame, becauſe they accounted it a diſparagement for a man to Marry the ſecond time, yea though his former wiſe were dead, as (it may be) I ſhall have occaſion to ſhow you hereafter. Beſides the νυμφευτὴς or the *Brideman*, & ſome of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a *Bridewoman* to take off her vaile, and dreſſe, and undreſſe, and do other ſuch offices as ſhould be required. Her Wedding *Ornaments* were pretious ſtones & jewels, eſpecially about her bed, ſuch as ᵃ *Herminione* had in the Tragedy. Κοσμὸν μὲν ἀμφὶ κρατὶ χρυσέας χλιδῆς. Her *Wedding Garment* was all of purple, ſave in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where elſe) ἔνθα ἦ τὸ ἄλλαις ἐσθῆσιν ἡ χώρα τὴν πορφύρας ἐκεῖ χρυσοῖς ἦν; and there it was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Heſiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

Οὔπω ἔργ' εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this cuſtome to interpret τὸ φορεῦξαι τῆς παρθενίας (in ᵇ *Euſtathius*) in another ſenſe than others have done. When ſhe came to the houſe, ſhe found the Doores all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obſita*, ſaies ᶜ *Apulitius*: it ſeems they tarryed not till ᵈ *Juvenals* time —*Foribus ſuſpende Coronas*

Jam pater es—— Neither was it any whit ſtrange to her to ſee thoſe ornaments upon the *Houſe*, for ſhe her ſelfe had the ſame according to thoſe words of *Clytemneſtra* to *Achilles*.

a *In Homeri Il.C.*
b *L.3.c.5.*

a *Eurip. Androm.v.147.*

b *Iſm.l.10.*
c *L.3.Met.*
d *Sat.9.*

[d] [illegible]

And (I think) her Husband too. *μηδὲ στεφανοῦν, μηδὲ φαιδρύνειν αὐτὸν νυμφίον*, ſaies [a] *Libanius*, ſpeaking to the Father, whoſe work it was to trim the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The cuſtome of adorning the *Houſe* with Garlands, was very much in uſe among the Romans too, & as much deteſted by the Chriſtians, *Chriſtianus nec Laureis januam infamabit,* ſaies [f] *Tertullian.* Thoſe Garlands have been made either of *Verbena,* conſecrated to *Venus*, and ſo they made them in *Italy*; or of *Aſparagus*, and ſo they made them in *Bœotia*; or elſe of the leaves of the hearbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and Μήκων, and ſo they made them at *Athens*, *Σήσαμα δὲ καὶ μήκωνες καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα οἷς στεφανοῦνται οἱ νυμφίοι*, ſaies the [a] Scholiaſt; the leaves had the name of the Hearb in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Seſamum leaves* had the name of Σησαμῶν, or Σησαμὶς; but the *Cake* which they made of the *grain* was called Σησαμῆ. For Cakes they uſually beſtowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* ſayes in the [a] Comedy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται, Σησαμῆ ξυμπλάττεται.

And made they were of *Seſamum* rather than any other thing *διὰ τὸ πολύγονον* (ſaies the Scholiaſt) as it were the herb *Polygonum*, a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the cuſtome of kembing her hair with a Spear (ſuch as had been kept by a Fencer with the loſſe of his life) were in uſe among the *Grecian* women too (as [b] ſome ſay it was) I cannot determine. But among the *Romans* it was, and they called ſuch a Spear *haſtam cœlibarem.* The reaſon why the Woman made uſe of ſuch a comb, or made this uſe of a ſpear, is thought to be, either *quaſi fortes eâ de cauſâ viros ſe genituram ominetur,* becauſe *ſhe ominated that by this meãs ſhe ſhould have ſtrong men to her children,* or *quod ſponſi diſciplinæ ſe ſubditã fateatur. Becauſe ſhe acknowledged her ſelfe ſubject to her husbands diſcipline.* As the woman went forth of her *fa-*

thers

[d] *Eurip. Ephig. in Aul. v.* 705.

[a] *Declam.* 39.

[f] *De Coron. Milit. c.* 13.

[a] Upon *Ariſtoph. in Pa.*

[a] *Ariſtoph. Pac.*

[b] *Alex. ab Alex. l.* 2. *c.* 5.

thers houſe, ſhe was to be *lifted* out over the threſhold, juſt as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a conſtraint. You ſee, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almoſt every where, and yet they ſay, that *Love will Creep where it cannot goe.* As ſhe entred into her Husbands houſe, the [a] Boyes and Maids fell a throwing of Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *ſycophancy*, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulneſſe*, εὐθηνίας σημεῖον, (ſaies *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a fooliſh cuſtom once in faſhion with ſome of *Us*, *viz.* upon *Twelfe Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toſted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and ſo to cry *Whatſayle*, and ſing a *Carmen* for a fruitful year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called καταχύσματα, as the word is uſed by the Poet in his Comœdy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon *him*, and ſo to give him the *Ioy* for his new bought eyes: ſaies ſhe

— κομίσω καταχύσματα
Ὥσπερ νεωνήτοισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the Scholiaſt notes it to have been the cuſtome alſo for a new ſervant, at his firſt comming into the houſe, to have him to the fire ſide, and there to *ſow* upon his head κόλλυβα, ἰσχάδας, φοίνικας, Junkets, and Figs, and Palmbranches, and a hundred other ſuch trinkets. But this I think was done, not onely as *he* ſayes, εἰς εὐθηνίας σημεῖον, to make it an *omen* of fruitfulneſſe (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) do the *Freſhmens gaudies.* All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime.* In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in VVedlock all bitterneſſe and choller muſt be caſt aſide) they took the [a] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behind the Altar during the time of Sacrifice

I

[a] *Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

[a] *Cæſ.Rhod.* l.28. c. 21.

if there happened any thing *obſcene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were diſſolv'd, and thus it hapned to [b] *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*; for an Eagle came and ſnatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was uſually performed by the Fathers (and none ſo fit to be the Prieſts of their own family) as may be gathered from the practiſe of [c] *Agamemnon*; who when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding cheer*, very religiouſly made anſwer yes,

Θύσας γε θύμαθ' ἃ με ἐχρῆν θῦσαι θεοῖς.

When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As alſo by that which you may read of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he ſpeakes of the Marriages of *Leucippe* and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more eſpeciall manner to *Jupiter* Ὁμόγνιος, and *Juno* Συζυγία, if it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὰ πατρὸς ἑστίας, καὶ ὁμόγνιον Δία, καὶ Ἥραν Συζυγίαν ἐξήμωσε προσάγειν. By reaſon of this, and other ſolemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a prophanation they made it to diſturb the buſines never ſo little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, eſpecially to the Wife: as for inſtance; One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the ſtory in *Photius Codice* σοθ.) being accuſed of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they ſummon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to anſwer the crime; but the Sergeants that were ſent (ſaith my Author) τὰ πρόθυρα ἰδόντες ἐστεφανωμένα, καὶ γνόντες ὡς εἴη τεθυκὼς τοὺς γάμους, ἀφέντες τὴν ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησαν ἐν ἔχειν ἐπεισπληθεῖν γυναικὶ νεογάμῳ, as ſoone as they ſaw but the *ſign* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) & were informed of a Nuptiall Sacrifice, becauſe they would not ruſh in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned preſently back againe, and the Court was contented with the *news*. So likewiſe in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted ſeverall Letters of his to his friends, and amongſt the reſt

b *Ach. Tat. l.* 2.

c *Eurip. Iph. in A. v.* 721.

Libanius Declam. 35.

one that was directed to his Wiſe *Olympia*, when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court; they no ſooner caſt their eye upon that to his Wiſe, but preſently every one cry'd out μήτε λῦσαι, μήτε ἀναγνῶναι, that it might not be read, nor ſo much as broken up. [a] Πρὸς γὰρ γαμετὴν γυναῖκα ἢ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλίαν ἐπιστέλλοντος ἀνδρὸς, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον δημοσιεύειν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι, becauſe they thought it a thing no way beſeeming them to divulge that moſt ſecret converſe by letters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the ſervice of their *Gods*, they made haſt to the ſervice of their *Genius*; but amidſt a great deale of good cheer, the Man and the Wiſe were alwaies noted (a) for a great deale of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughes of Acorns, ſinging as he went [b] ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, *I* (or *they*) *have avoided a worſe evill, and met with a better.* If he ſpake in the perſon of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the beſt of the *three evils* at the leaſt; & ſo it is not ſo bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire.* (unleſſe you will prize the finding of a Wiſe, after the rate of leeſing her, for ſo (they ſay) *he that hath loſt his Wife and ſix pence, hath ſome loſſe by the money.* The Muſick which they had was ſinging ἀμοιβαίως, by turns; and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Talaſſius*) [c] Ὑμὴν, ὢ Ὑμέναι' ὢ Ὑμήν, imitated by him in *Plautus*.

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankfull commemoration* of one of that name, who had ſometimes ſav'd the Maides of *Athens* from a generall raviſhment; (ſuch as there was once of the *Sabines*) or elſe in a *ſorrowfull commiſeration* of another, that happen'd to be killed by the fall of a houſe that very day that he Married. Whatever the *Man* was, they ſeem to have given him the honour of a *God*, and therefore to have been very loath to give him diſtaſte, in omitting any part of the Nuptiall ceremonies.

a *Photius* ib.

a *Athenæus* l. 9.

b *Zenobius*.

c *Ariſtoph.* in *Avib.*

Quid ſi etiam offendam Hymenæum?

Saies he in [a] *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep ſuch a noyſe in the Streets, as they did with their *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as ſoon as ever ſhe was out of her Fathers houſe.

Ὅταν ξὺν ὑμεναίοισιν ἐκδιδῷς κόρην.

ſaies *Clytemneſtra*; [b] which agrees with that of the other Poet in the ſame place.

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymenæa.

Whether 'twere the faſhion in *Greece* to ſet the Woman firſt in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I miſtake not) *Lactantius* ha's ſomewhat of ſuch a thing, & I might ſpeak more of *Priapus*, too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber (τὸν θάλαμον or τὴν παςάδα) to ſhew whereto ſhee muſt, there was a ſieve carried along with her, and a peſtle hung at the door, ὕπερον [illegible] (as *I. Pollux* ſaies) or to ſignifie that hereafter ſhe muſt learn to *put her hand* to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were *both* in (for the Woman was in firſt, as the faſhion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince apple*, and eat it between them, ὅτι ἔδει τὴν ἀπὸ ςόματ@, καὶ φωνῆς χάριν εὐάρμοςον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ ἡδεῖαν, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to ſignifie *the pleaſantneſs and harmony which ſhould be in their talk at firſt*. And yet notwithſtanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would but come and ſcold (*grave cornicaretur* forſooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at leaſt) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀτελὲς δωμάτιον or γάμον ἀτελῆ, becauſe by this means

——[a] *Conjux miſeranda Caico*
Linquitur, & primo Domus imperfecta cubili.

Δωμάτιον I ſaid (or if you will νυμφικῶς ſpeak a little finer) θάλαμον; for this word is many times uſed by it ſelf for θάλαμ@, as it ſeems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Republ.* ſpeaking of *Jupiter* thus, καὶ ὡς ἰδὼν τὴν Ἥραν [illegible] ἐθέλειν, ὡς

[a] *In Caſinâ Act.4. Sc.3.*

[b] *Eurip. Iphig. in A.v. 693.*

[a] *Valer. Flacc.*

δὶς ἐς τὸ δῶμα ποτ᾽ ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ βάλλουσιν χαμαὶ συγχέουσι. And yet I think [b] *Hesiod* (without any wrong done him) may be underſtood of any other buſineſſe left *Rough-hewn, unpoliſh'd*, or not *done over* againe, when he ſaies

[b] Epy. l. 2.

[c] Apud Euſtath. l. 5.

Μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀνεπίξεστον καταλείπειν
Μήτοι ἐφεζομένη κρώζῃ λακέρυζα κορώνη.

[c] *Iſmenias* applies it indeed to our purpoſe; but now to prevent ſuch an *omen* as this, they ſet the boies to cry Κόρη ἐκκόρει κορώνην, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been ſet to keep off the Rooks from the corn: κορώνην (I ſay) and not κορώνας, in the *plural* number; for herein the *Scholiaſt* upon *Pindar* is ſuppos'd to have miſtaken; becauſe neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky, unleſſe it came in the *ſingular* number; and then the *birds* being *ſingled* and divided one from the other, could not poſſibly be a good ſigne to thoſe that were to be *coupl'd*, and joined together. But ſome notwithſtanding like the Choughs for *very good lucky birds* (as we uſe to ſay) let them come how they will; either becauſe they are πολύζωοι (as *Homer* cals them) long-liv'd, or, becauſe *ea cornicum ſocietas eſt* (ſaies [a] one) *ut ex duabus Sociis, alterâ extinctâ, vidua altera perpetuò maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lye, they had two beds, *viz.* Κλίνην γαμικὴν, & κλίνην παράβυστον, or a *ſide-bed* for a change, or ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν νυμφὴν μὴ ἀδημονεῖν, ſaith *Heſychius*. If the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would term the bed κουρίδιον λέχος, as *Ariſtophanes* does (in *Pace*) and ſo κουρίδιον [s] δῶμα for the houſe, and κουριδία for the wife. Before the woman could lie with the man, ſhe was to have her bath of water heated of purpoſe to waſh her body in, νυμφικὸν λουτρὸν they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lyſiſtrate*. [illegible]

[illegible]

[a] Alex. ab Alex. l. c. 5.

[s] Homer.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigæus* when he intended to marry

Opora, giving order to his ſervant, as ſoon as he had brought her to his houſe, firſt to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

> Ἀλλ' εἴσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν
> Καὶ τὴν πύελον κατάκλυζε, ϗ θέρμαιν' ὕδωρ,
> Στόρεω θ' ἡμῖν ϗ τῇ ϗ κουρίδιον λέχος.

This water at firſt was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe-well*, ἐκ τ̃ καλλιῤῥοῆς, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐκ τ̃ ἐννεακρούνε κληθείσης. *But afterward*, ſaies [a] *Pollux, from Enneacrunos*, which was ſocalled becauſe it had nine ſeverall κρούνους, or *fiſtulas*, or *ſalientes*, where the water ſprung up, & ſo you might allow one for every Muſe in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two diſtinct names of the ſame Well. The one expreſſing what *fair Water* it was, or how well and cleare it ran; and the other in how many places; for it may very well be thought ſo by that verſe of [b] *Statius*.

a L. 3. c. 3.

b Theb. 12.

> *Et quos Callirhoe novis errantibus undis*
> *Implicat*——

Nay, *Thucidides* ſaies poſitively, they were the ſame. Onely that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was uſuall when they new-made a thing, to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunos*. Which if it be ſo, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τ̃ Καλλιῤῥοῆς, εἶτ' αὖθις τ̃ ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrunus*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the Λουτροφόρος. When the Wife was ready to undreſs, her Mother tooke her hairlace, and winding it about one of the *torches* (for they had δᾷδας νυμφικὰς too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The *Mother* I ſaid. For *ſhe* commonly would δᾳδουχεῖν, carry the torches, or *hold the candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* uſed to doe.

> ——*Non te duxit in thalamos parens*
> *Comitata primos, nec ſua feſta manu*

Ornavit ades, nec ſuâ latas faces
Vittâ revinxit —— ſaies * *Jocaſta.*

For the matter of theſe Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet aſſur'd: whether it were *Corylis*, commonly uſed for ſuch purpoſes, according to *Pliny*; or *Larix*, or *Spina alba*, which they uſed among the Romans: and ſo likewiſe for their number, whether the cuſtom were to have juſt five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, *viz. Iupiter Adultus, Iuno Adulta, Venus, Suadela*, and *Lucina*; they have not given me light enough to diſcover, a little glimmering I have, and ſome cauſe to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwiſe why ſhould the covetous Father in [a] *Libanius* complain ſo heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter (that he could not ἑνὶ λύχνῳ τὴν νύμφην ἀγαγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one & on more. But for the bearer, that it was uſually the Mother, will appear by the diſcourſe that paſſed between *Clytemneſtra* and her Husband in the * *Poet*; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, and leave her daughter with him; ſhe askt him —— τίς δ' ἀνασχήσει φλόγα, *but who ſhall carry the Torches then?* and being anſwered ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς, ὃ νυμφίοις πρέπει, that he meant to do it himſelf: nay quoth ſhe οὐχ ὁ νόμος οὗτος οὐδὲ σὺ φαῦλ' ἡγῇ τάδε, *that was never the cuſtom, neither do you your ſelf think it to be handſome & fitting.* & indeed, I think, *Clytemneſtra* was wrong'd: for it ſeemes to have been reckoned not ſo much the *office* and the *charge*, as the *Priviledge*, and the *honour* of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the ſad conſequents of her baniſhment from the company of her Children, to bee debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. *O my dear children, quoth ſhe, what a Wretch am I; who muſt thus leave you before I carry the Torches.*

[a] Πρὶν λέκτρα καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ γαμηλίους
Εὐνὰς ἀγῆλαι λαμπάδας τ' ἀνασχεθεῖν.

* Senec. Theb.

a Declam. 37.

* Eurip. Iph. in Aul. v.7.34.

a Eurip. Med. 1025.

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had deſir'd only to have *lighted* the Torches, ſhe might very well have been blam'd for her paſſion, becauſe then he had done no more then other fathers uſed to doe. δᾷδας γαμηλίους ὑπανῆψα: *I lighted the Torches*, ſaies he in * *Libanius*. But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they ſhar'd it between them, for the Mothers might do it too, if we may believe the Author in thoſe words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children, Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ᾤμην προσάψειν (not only ἀνασχεῖν) τοῖς ἠιθέοις καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις; *I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding*, &c. At *Sparta* there was none of theſe doings, only the *Pronuba ſhaved* the woman (whether becauſe ſhe had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husband's) and ſo delivered her up to the man (if ſhe had gone among the * *Iſraelites* when ſhe was thus us'd, certainly the people there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife.) The *Zona* which the Woman wore was untyed by the Husband in the bed ζώνην γὰρ λύειν ὁ νόμος ἣν ἔλυσαν αἱ παρθένοι, ὡς καὶ ἐκ ἀλλήλων πρὶν ἀπάρθενοι γίνονται, ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of Λυσιζώνη might be given to *Diana* as ſeaſonably then as at the time of Child bearing, and worſhipped ſhe was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd beſides this; or whether it was tyed and untyed again; or whether one knot were untyed at firſt time, and another at the ſecond, theres the knot of queſtion (if we may queſtion for knots in bulruſhes.) Indeed that there was a *Zona* untyed the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by thoſe words of *Alceſtes*.

Ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένει' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ
Κορεύματ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός.—

And that there was another left to be untyed at the time of child-bearing, I have reaſon to conjecture from the *Herculaneus*

* *Decl.* 35.

* *Deut.* 21 12.

neus nodus formerly mention'd, becauſe (I ſuppoſe) they call'd it by that name in alluſion not ſo much to *Herculis* his ſtrength, as if they would have it the *faſter*, that is the ſtronger *ty'd*, as to his happineſſe in making of children, as if they would have it the faſter *unty'd*, as faſt as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroome*) ſtood at the chamber door, and ſung their ἐπιθαλάμια, or γαμήλια, with as great noiſe as poſſibly they could, ἵνα ἡ παρθένου βιαζομένης, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακούηται, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her *time*, ſhe might not be heard. Which they had no ſuch need to doe, Pollux l. 3. c. 3. if that be true which they ſay, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they called the θυρωρὸς, uſually did him that good office, to ſtand ſentinel at the door, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his *friends*; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the women (called Θεσμοφόρια, by *Iſæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the φράτερσι, as his Father in Law had done before him. This making of Feaſts at Weddings was properly called δαῖσαι τοὺς γάμους, as it is in the Tragedy.

Κ' ἄπειτα δαίσεις τοὺς γάμους——

Iphig. in Aul. v. 707, & 720. And a little before.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἔδαισαν Πηλέως γάμους θεοί.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behind hand at this kind of work; for they alſo kept a *Feaſt* of purpoſe for the women beſides. And therefore ſaies *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited,

Ἡμεῖς δὲ θοίνην τὴν γυναιξὶ θήσομεν.

The ſaying *aujourd huy mariè, & demain marri*, to day Wedded, and to morrow ſadded, would ſcarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the houſe in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with ſuits of Cloath's and all ſorts of Houſhould ſtuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like: a cuſtome obſerved by the *Lacedemonians* with ſo much pride and exceſſe, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to reſtraine the Suits to the number of three, and the reſt of the things to a lower price. The gifts then beſtowed, they called ἀπαύλια (as thoſe which I preſented you before, were called ἐπαύλια) and ſometimes διαπαρθένια, as being that which (to ſpeak in *Juvenals* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur — and ſuch gifts *Medea* once ſent by her children to *Glauca*. But ſo with the vengeance, as ſhe made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which ſhe gave her the roaſt.

Πέμψω γὰρ αὐτῶν δῶρ᾽ ἔχοντας ἐν χεροῖν
Νύμφῃ φέροντας &c.

And this [2] puts me in mind of ſome that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing προαύλια for the firſt ἀπαύλια (when the garment called ἀπαυλιστηρία was given by the Woman to the man) for the ſecond, and ἐπαύλια for the third.

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THe time of the *yeare* which they deemed moſt lucky to Marry in (for almoſt every Nation has had their *nefaſtous* time and dayes) was the firſt Moneth of the Winter. (Cleane contrary to the cuſtome of the *Perſians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and ſet upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they *chalked* but one part of the yeare, I hope they did not mark all the reſt with a *coale*, neither can I think they had the ſame opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, [a] *Menſe malas Maio nubere*.

a Eurip. Med. v. 784.

1. Pollux. l.3. c. 3.

a Ovid. l. 5. Faſt.

Quæſt. Rom. 8. 6.

it may be *malum* by [b] *Plutarchus* conſent. The beſt day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone; that they might be *brought to bed* (as we ſay) the ſooner, and grow the fuller themſelves. But the beſt part of the *day* was the laſt, or the next to the night, and ſo they might *goe to bed* the ſooner. Juſt at theſe ſeaſons *Themis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in thoſe words of hers (and the Poets)

* *Iſthm.* H.

—— ἐν διχομηνίδεσιν
Δὲ ἑσπέραις ἐρατὸν
Λύοι κεν χαλινὸν ὑ-
φ' ἥρωϊ παρθενίας.

But I make no queſtion, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be *borne* in τετράδι *Quartâ Lunâ*, as *Hercules* had. Beſides, * *Heſiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I beleeve he meanes μηνὸς ἱσταμένου of the firſt third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, ſo that no *Oſcinous* bird did *obſcævare* or *occinere*, *ſing another ſong* to the contrary.

* ἔργ. l. 3.

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι εἰς οἶκον ἄκοιτιν
Οἰωνὺς κρίνας οἳ ἐπ' ἔργματι τέτῳ ἀείσωι.

Whereas the ἐκ τῃ μηνὸς (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad againe, eſpecially for the Woman. But I muſt confeſſe, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddeſſe eſpecially having [a] Agamemnon too (a *man*) on my ſide, who when the queſtion was ask'd —— ποίᾳ δ' ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖ; made anſwer.

[a] *Eurip: Iphig. in A.* v. 717.

Ὅταν σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος.
When that bleſſed ſeaſon of Full Moon ſhall come.

I doe not find the *Romans* to have been ſo ſcrupulous as to think Marriage to be *imperfect*, unleſſe it were at the *full*, or never to be as good as it ſhould be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. 'Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*) and the *Ides*, were daies of another *colour*, black & unſuitable with the mirth of a Wedding: and ſo were all Holy-daies whatſoever, and the reaſon you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in theſe words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare eſt: ideo tunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur.* To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-daies to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they call'd them) to ſuch as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *poſtridnani dies*, that is the firſt daies after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wiſe, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which ſhe could not doe, if ſhe married upon the Nones. 'Tis true a *Widdow* might be ſuffered to Marry upon a Holy-day, (and *Varro* will tell you the reaſon) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feaſt of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Beſides having of *non-licet* daies, they had a cuſtome to Marry only upon ſuch a day as by the judgment of the Aſtrologer (to whom they ſought) *copulas nuptiales affirmit.* But ſo much may ſuffice concerning the *time* of Marrying. I proceed to ſpeak of the qualifications of the perſons to be Married.

[b] L. 1. Sat. c. 15.

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THe Conditions required in a *Husband* were theſe. Firſt, he muſt be no ſtranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were ſold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly he muſt be no leſſe then five and thirty yeares old, according to the *Law*; and according to [a] *Ariſtotle* two yeares elder. But according to [a] *Heſiod* a little younger, or a little elder is ſeaſonable enough.

Μήτε τριηκόντων ἐτέων μάλα πόλλ' ἀπολείπων

[a] Polit. 7.

Μήτ' ἀπαθεῖ μάλα πολλά.

Thirdly if the Woman with whome he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, ſole daughter and Heire (ſuch a one as *Ariſtophanes in Veſpis* calls ἐπιπαμμίδα or πατροῦχον) he muſt be one of the ſame houſe, and the next of the blood. But then there alwaies were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) ſome others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the buſineſſe with him, and plead to the ſame, and then ſuch Women were called ἐπίδικοι,[b] and the whole ſuit Ἀμφισβήτησις: The queſtion was wont to be decided by the *Pretor*. Laſtly, he muſt not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at leaſt he might not be ſo, upon paine of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Citizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, μὴτ' εὐδοκιμείσθω μή τι συντυχέτω λόγῳ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ παισὶν αὑτοῦ μητρυιὰν ἐπάγων, *whoſoever ſhall ſuper-inducere novercam, let him be* ἄτιμος, *&c.* Beſides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Stepdame*) gave one pretty reaſon more against being the *Husband of two Wives* in this ſenſe, by way of *dilemma*: you ſhall have his words, as I found them in [a] *Arſenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα φιλοσόφων *&c*, ſaies he, Εἴτ' ἐπέτυχες γὰρ γήμας τὸ πρότερον, εὐημερῶν κατάπαυσον: εἴτ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχες, μανικὸν τὸ πείρᾳ δευτέρᾳ λαβεῖν πάλιν. ὁ γὰρ ἀληθείας ὁ δὶς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασιν ἁμαρτάνων ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη, *If thou hadſt good luck in thy firſt Wife, thou ſhould'ſt have kept thee well while thou waſt well: if thou hadſt not, thou art a little better then a Foole or a Madman, to ſtumble againe at the ſame ſtone.*

CAP.

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[b] I. Poll. l. 3. c. 3.

[a] Moemubaſiæ Archiepiſ.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THe Qualifications required in a Wife, were theſe. First, ſhe muſt be *free*, before ſhe put her neck in the *yoake*. For otherwiſe the Marriage was counted [illegible] rather then γάμος, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Heſiod*) [illegible] ——. If ſhe were a ſtranger, ſhe muſt pay ſoundly for it, no leſſe then a thouſand δραχμὰς to the Citty. This Law though it were for a time *let down* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* againe by *Ariſtophon*. Secondly, ſhe muſt be ſix and twenty yeares of age. And yet *Ariſtotle* even in [b] *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen. Out of indulgence to the Sex ſurely; for elſe he thinks it very unfitting they ſhould Marry ſo young: both becauſe ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τόκοις μᾶλλον, &c. they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and alſo becauſe he had obſerv'd that in thoſe places where they uſed to make ſuch haſt, [illegible], the Puppies for the moſt part were blind, not ſo perfect, or not ſo bigge of ſtature as elſe they would be. But then there is [*] another who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two ſooner then he,

Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτορ' ἡβώοι, πέμπτῳ δὲ γαμοῖτο.

And [a] another ſooner yet (if I do not miſtake)

Ὅτ' εἰς ἥβην ἦλθεν ὡραίων γάμων.

Cum ad pubertatem venit, tempeſtivis nuptiis.

Thirdly, ſhe muſt be but one, and no more according to [b] *Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of men, to make the more haſt for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine, whom they made uſe of only *ad nunc ambiendum* for the preſent occa-

ſion)

b L.7.c.16.

* Heſiod. Oper

a Eurip. in Hel. v. 12.

b L. 13.

ſion) and that Children begotten upon ſuch a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, [illegible] *the beſt*. And what will you ſay, if *Socrates* himſelfe made uſe of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that beſides *Xanthippe* the ſhrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Ariſtides*, of which two it is ſaid, that upon a time they fell out, and were preſently reconcil'd again by their Husband, who told them, it was a ſhame for two handſome Women as they were thus to fall out for one unhandſome man. But * others there be againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot ſee how the Etymology could hold water, γάμος παρὰ τὸ ἅμα εἶναι: Unleſſe you will have the man to ſtand out. *Hermione* her ſelfe, though ſhe were *ſuperinducta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether diſlike the encreaſe of the number.

* Rhod. Panatheus.

—οὐδὲ γὰρ καλὸν
Δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ἄνδρ' ἕν' ἡνίας ἔχειν.

a Eurip. Androm. v.177.

Which words of hers were preſently ſeconded by thoſe of the *Chorus*.

Ἐπίφθονόν τι χρῆμα θηλειῶν ἔφυ,
Καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μάλιστ' ἀεί.
Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

And verifi'd they have been not onely by her owne example in conſpiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other ſuch Wives among the Greeks, eſpecially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the *Husband* out of love with the other, made uſe of Magicall devices, eſpecially ſuch as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and ſo conſequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then a *partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his wife *Hermione*, as ſhe ſuppos'd, and ſo ſhe told the other.

b Eurip. ib.

a Juven. Sat. 2.

—στυγοῦμαι δ' ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νηδὺς δ' ἀκύμων διὰ σέ μοι διόλλυται.

When ſuch courſes as theſe are taken

Turgida

[b] *Turgida non prodeſt condita pyxide Lyde.* Neither the keeping of a Spider in a box, nor the laſh of a naked *Luperc* will do any good. Fourthly, ſhe might be halfe a ſiſter to the Husband, ſo it be meant not ὁμομήτριος, or ὁμογάστριος, or *uterina*, but only ὁμοπάτριος, by the Fathers ſide, or *germana*, as the word is uſed by *Æmilius Probus*, (whether in its genuine ſenſe I know not) where he ſpeaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Siſter *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more ductus: nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere.* This act of *Cimon*, *Athenæus* thinks to have been done παρανόμως, contrary to the Laws, & ſo in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* ſaies he did it in a publik manner, not only by making her his Concubine to lye with him συνεῖναι, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning συνουσία, but συνοικεῖν, i.e. taking her into his houſe to live with him, and that for a lawfull cauſe, (as he thought) *viz.* becauſe ſhe was to ſeek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not ſee how he could by a Grecian well be excuſ'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous*.

— παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ —

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Siſter with the Brother.

Unleſſe you will maintaine the goodneſſe of the practiſe then, by the greatneſſe of the Perſon that uſed it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleaſ'd) Fifthly, ſhe muſt be no Baſtard, unleſſe ſhe were intended for a Baſtard-maker, and in a *Proletarious* manner, only for *breed*, I meane for a Concubine: for ſuch I take to be little better then what *Talthibius* once ſaid poor *Caſſandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* [a] λέκτρων σκότια νυμφευτήρια, and the Children little better then νόθοι, if the Father were more in the dark.

As

[b] *Juven.* ib.

L. 13.

[a] *Eurip.* in *Troad.* v.251.

As for the Portion or Estate, ſhe was either ἐπίκληρος [d], one that had no Brothers and was Heire to the whole Eſtate; or ἐπίπροικος; that had a Brother, and no more then her part, or a *portion*. The greateſt diſtinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion. Inſomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἄπροικος, yet he would have the συγγραφὰς, the *Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the beſt. Thoſe writings were ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of witneſſes, and the man did ἐνεχυριάζειν ἀποτίμημα, make over to the Woman ſome Houſe or Land in exchange; and this they call'd [a] ἀποτιμήματα.

a Harpocr.

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married; the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part; for they divided their Month into three parts,) or elſe if ſhe were an ἐπίκληρος ſhe might goe *to another*, unleſs he were able to excuſe himſelfe by a lawfull impediment. Such as comming from Funerals is accounted by [b] *Heſiod* in thoſe words of his:

Μηδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἀπονοστήσαντα
Σπερμαίνειν γενεήν

b l. 2.

Or by any other unſeaſonableneſſe of time: for that they thought ſome times more ſeaſonable then other, and ſome fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appeare by the words of the ſame Poët ſpeaking of the firſt day of the middle part of the Month.

[illegible]

And a little after of two other dayes:

[illegible]

But if they were about any ſolemne Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either.

and therefore at ſuch times they uſed (as well as the Iſraelites) to abſtaine altogether, or *ἁγνῶς ἔχειν, purè habere*, as the Poët call'd it *in Aſinario*.

Si forte purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an *ἐπίκληρος* were overlaid, or any way abuſ'd by her Husband, ſhe might have a Writ *τῆς κακώσεως τῆς ἐπικλήρου*, otherwiſe called *λειπογάμιον*, and be ſuffered to leave him; and this they called [a] *ἀπολείπειν*: whereas if the Husband would part with *her*, it was call'd *ἀποπέμπειν*, becauſe he might tarry in his own houſe, and be rid of her company never the leſſe. But one thing I muſt tell you too, that for either party to *leave*, or to *put away* the tother, was a thing alwaies very much deteſted among the Grecians. Inſomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the cuſtome was for ſo many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pigge in the poke*, the *Ephori* impoſ'd a mulct upon *Lyſander* himſelfe for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But *ἀπολείπειν*, for the Woman to ſeparate from the Man, 'twas a thouſand times worſe then *ἀποπέμπειν*, even flat Rebellion, or *delinquency* at the beſt. Heare but what [b] *Medea* ſaies of it

οὐ γὰρ εὐκλεεῖς ἀπαλλαγαὶ
Γυναιξὶν, οὐδ' οἷόν τ' ἀνήνασθαι πόσιν.

Where ſhe puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoyes before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor *Wife* if ſhe be well uſ'd tis true, *ζηλωτὸς αἰὼν — no life like hers — εἰ δὲ μὴ, — but if ill — θανεῖν χρεὼν there is no remedy but death*, or *ſhe had better be out of the life*. On the other ſide, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife; or one Husband in all: and what a diſparagement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, [a] *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alceſtis*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married againe, though ſhe were dead.

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[a] *Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Equit.*

[b] *Eurip. Med. v.236.*

[a] *In Alceſt. v. 464.*

[illegible]
[illegible]

But was it ſo indeed as *Medea* complained, and was the Woman to be miſerable ſtill without any hopes of redreſſe? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if ſhe found the Conjugall yoake too ſtrait, and had a mind to ſlip the Collar, ſhe was to make her complaint to the *Archon*: who deputed other Judges to conſider if the cauſe were lawfull, and ſo to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that ſhe engage her ſelfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands houſe againe: and when this was done, ſhe might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or elſe ſerve him with a Writ [illegible], or allow her maintenance, and ſo much a Month for uſe, as long as he detained the mony.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum ſcleragogiâ, & ſervilibus miniſteriis.

BVT now whether the Woman reckon'd it ſufficient cauſe to complaine, to be put to ſervile employments, I know not, ſuch abuſes as theſe were many times offered. I do not ſo much ſtand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever [a] *Hecuba* has complain'd of that imployment) but the baſer ſort of ſervices, ſuch as fetching of Water upon their heads: which the poore old Maid in the [b] Poët might juſtly make one of the ſaddeſt parts of her ſlaviſh condition,

—τόδ' ἄγγος τῷδ' ἐφεδρεῦον κάρᾳ
Φέρουσα πηγὰς ποταμίας μετέρχομαι.

It ſeems the Grecian Women their faſhion of carrying Water, was the ſame that ours is now; nay and the Roman too: for [c] *Ovid* ſaies of the Veſtall Virgin her ſelfe (*Sylvia* I mean, when ſhe went to fetch Water, and ſlept away her Maidenhead,

(a) *Apud Eurip. Troad. v.* 193.
(b) *id. in Electr. v.* 55.
[c] *L.*3. *Faſt.*

head, a good caveat for all ſleepy Servants)

Ponitur è ſummâ fictilis urna Comâ.

And ſo likewiſe I did once conjecture that the men amongſt them uſed to carry Water and other things too, much in the ſame manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, becauſe of that which the Poët ſaies of *Ulyſſes* his Marriners, when they took in freſh Water in *Sicily*.

——ὤμοισι δ' αὐχέσι
Τεύχη φέροντας κενὰ βορᾶς κεχρημένους
Κρωσσούς θ' ὑδρηλούς——

Now whereas I mention'd only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other ſide, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing beſeeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or ſo much as to know what was done there, τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πραττόμενα εἰδέναι, ἀπρεπές. It is *Ariſtotle's* own *Oeconomicks*, at leaſt κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, though not κατὰ τὴν λέξιν (to uſe the words of *Tuſanus* ſometimes profeſſor at *Paris*, who tranſlated into Greek againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being loſt, and only a Latine tranſlation of one *Arthetinus* left) And very good reaſon you will ſay there is, for *her* to be excuſ'd from labour abroad, that muſt keep ſo cloſe at home, and yet *travell* too: which cloſe confinement made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wives condition. *If any thing grieve her* (ſaith he) *ſhe has no more company to make known her griefs unto, then* μίαν ψυχὴν, *her owne poor ſoule*: *And whereas they object that the Husband goes to Warr, and does this and that, I for my part* ſaies ſhe

——[a] ὡς τρὶς ἂν παρ' ἀσπίδα
Στῆναι θέλοιμ' ἂν, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.
——Three times to beare a ſhield
Thrice better do it think, then once to beare a child.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or leſſe, according to her Fathers liberality in her

[a] Eurip. in Med. v. 244. to 251.

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache*, that in this ſhe came *behind* her, though ſhe were otherwiſe the firſt Wife: *my Father* (ſaies ſhe) *ſent me hither in a liberall manner.*

a Eurip. Androm. v.153. [a] Πολλοῖς σὺν ἕδνοις: ὡς ἐλευθεροστομεῖν,

With many a good thing: That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. Only you that brought nothing with you muſt go to doores. And *ſhe that cannot pay, muſt be faine to pray.* This argument of hers, her Waiting-maid afterward *bandy'd* back to her again, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. *For* (ſaies ſhe) *he did not take*

b Ib. v. 872. *as a Captive, or ſo,* [b] σὺν πολλοῖς ἕδνοισιν, *he had ſomething with you.*

CAP: XIII.

De Mulierum honeſtioribus opificiis.

THE employments moſt uſuall and leaſt diſhonourable, were ſeeing things handſome and neat in the houſe; and providing for the Workmen abroad; take in *Electras* own words:

c Eurip. Elect. v.75. ——— [c] τἀν δόμοις δ' ἡμᾶς χρεὼν

Ἐξευτρεπίζειν, εἰσιόντι δ' ἐργάτῃ &c.

d J.Poll.l.7.c.30. or elſe working at any kind of Lanifice, either at [d] ξαίνειν the tozing (ſhall I ſay) or the carding of the Wooll; or νηματίζειν, when they went to ſpinne out the στήμων or *ſtamen*, and διάζεσθαι (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the reſt of the Wooll; or laſt of all at ὑφαίνειν, the Weaving and joyning the στήμονας together, with the help of the Κερκὶς, (the *pecten* or the ſley like a comb) and the ἀγνῦθες, or the λαῖαι, ſmooth ſtones (like our ſmooth lace-ſticks, that they might not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The poſture in Weaving was more anciently [a] ſtanding, but at

a Serv. ad Aen.8. length (when they were weary) it came to ſitting (with the Romans at leaſt) excepting when they made plaine worke, *recta* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a croſſe and no more; for there was ποικιλτικὴ too, and a great deale of variety in ſome workes, as well as ſeverall ſorts of workes in the trade; which was the cauſe why [b] *Ion* in *Euripides* when *Creuſa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her owne Weaving, askt her of what ſort of making it was. b *V.* 14. 18.

Ποῖόν τι; πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Vnleſſe you will confine this ποικιλζειν to the Virgins (as you may ſeeme to have cauſe from the words but now produc'd) and the Wives and Mothers (or their ſervants for them) to the plainer work. As it is ſaid, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, ſaies *Feſtus*, the parents among them would make their Children none but *plain Cloaths*, to ſhew they muſt uſe themſelves to *plaine dealing*. And ſeeing Weaving was a worke well beſeeming the better ſort (as appeares in *Creuſa* the daughter of no worſe man then *Erictheus* a King of *Athens*, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if ſhe have put it among her complaints in that verſe;

Αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκμοχθοῦσα κερκίσι πέπλους.

That ſhe was kept to Weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was, rather that ſhe could not be her owne Woman, and Weave for her ſelfe, but muſt be ſtill winning and never wearing, and ſtarve in the Cooks ſhop. I muſt tell her thus much from [a] *Ariſtotle*, if ſhe liv'd in a ſtate of levelling Democracy, though ſhe were a married Woman (as ſhe was but πολυχρόνιος παρθένος) that or any worke elſe would have been thought too much to little purpoſe. For ſaies he in ſuch a caſe, τοῖς ἀπόροις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥσπερ ἀκολούθοις διὰ τὴν ἀδουλίαν, ſhe muſt be forc'd to do things her ſelfe for want of Servants, and ſo there could be no ſuch thing at all as *Gynaconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all. a *Polit.* l. 6. c. 143.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Occuria.

NOw the Wives beſides their γυναικωνῖτιν, (their Bed-chamber ſhall I call it, or their Attiring roome, or their Dining-roome, juſt as the men had their ἀνδρῶνας) had their
b I. Poll. l. 1. c. 8 [b] θάλαμον ἱστῶν too, to worke in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶνας to play in, for I feare me, *vuides chambres font dames folles* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

[c] Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόνας εἶναι κόρας.
That Maids *at home* ſhud not be left alone.

e Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 737

Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad.* Inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediatly following the former,

Ὀχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρουρεῖται καλῶς.

And if their Daughters not yet *ſhut* faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were, in Priſon (for which their [illegible], things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives, when they *uſ'd them up* as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their [a] Poets:

a Ariſtoph. in Theſmop.

—— ταῖς γυναικωνίτισιν
Σφραγῖδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἤδη καὶ μοχλοὺς
Τηροῦντες ἡμᾶς, καὶ προσέτι Μολοττικοὺς
Τρέφουσι μορμολυκεῖα τοῖς μοιχοῖς κύνας.
—— beſides the ſeales
Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay
To make us ſure; nay more, their Maſtive curs
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were *οἰκουροὶ* Houſe-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was ſo hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which ſenſe you may well take that of the ſame Poët in *Lyſiſtrate*: χαλεπὴ γυναικῶν ἡ ἔξοδος. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Goſſiping humour) they muſt be ſure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικείους κόσμους, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικονόμοι (as they call'd them) officers of purpoſe, who had power to impoſe a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was [a] poſted up upon a certaine plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talk of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands, were ſo hard or ſo jealous, as not to ſuffer their Wives and Daughters ſo much as to *look* abroad: or if they were ſuffer'd by them they ſhould be ſure to ſuffer themſelves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide took up her Miſtreſſe ſo ſhort, when ſhe went forth at doores in a paſſion.

[b] Ἀλλ᾽ εἴσιθ᾽ εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων
Πάροιθε τῶνδε, μή τιν᾽ αἰσχύνην λάβῃς
Πρόσθεν μελάθρων τῶνδ᾽ ὁρωμένη, τέκνον.

But, pray, get in, and ſhew not thus your ſelfe
Before the houſe, &c.

Where, I dare not ſay, the tranſlator was *Phantaſtick*, to render φαντάζου, *imagineris*: but what ever he ſaies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpoſe. Nay looking out at a window, was almoſt as bad as looking out at doore; Κἂν ἐκ θυρίδος παρακύπτωμεν (as the Women complaine in *Theſmophoriazuſæ* * where you may read more of their grievances) if they did put *peep* out, they would be thought to doe it, as other Women uſ'd to doe: and to draw in their head again, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet, I feare me, ſome of the Daughters had ſcarce the liberty to

goe

[a] *I. Poll. l.*8. *c.* 10.

[b] *Eurip. in Androm. v.*876.

* *Ariſtoph.*

goes out of one room into another: for ſo it was with *Antigone*, when ſhe went up to the top of the houſe to view the Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pædagogue* (a Tutor, ſuch as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children, Maids or Boyes.)

Eurip. Phœniſ. v. 88.

Ἐπεί σε μήτηρ παρθενῶνας ἐκλιπεῖν
Μεθῆκε

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave*, I know not. I believe they could hardly do it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad: for ſo I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* ſaies;

Οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο

The Womans owne private chamber, (*Gynæconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynæcon*, call it what you will) was (ſaith *Didymus*) δίστεγ☉ two ſtories high, like a neſt, to make it the harder to climbe up to them: for (to tell you in his words) οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι τὰ γυναικεῖα ὑπερῷα τοῖς διπλοῖς κατεσκεύαζον ὥσπερ τὰ νοσσοτρόφεια. The People of ancient times, built their ὑπερῷα their upper Chamber for the nonce. Ὦα and ᾠὰ they called them then, inſomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies cloſe bred up in ſuch a chamber, is thought by ſome to be ſaid to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* faſhion of the Roome, or the like ſignification of the name in the Greeke. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a paire of ſtaires, tis not ſo eaſy to determine, as it was to get up for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pædagogue* (whom I laſtly mention'd) had to help up his Pupil by the hand, I am apt to thinke that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the other to the *Gynæcon*, to have been a ladder, and not a ſtaire-caſe: heare how ſhe cries for help;

Ὄρεγέ νυν, ὄρεγε γεραιὰν
Νέᾳ χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Ποδὸς ἴχν☉ ἐπαντέλλων.

Such a κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no ſuch need of helpe; for, Κλίμακα δ' ὑψηλὴν κατεβήσετο οἷο δόμοιο.

Now a Woman if ſhe went about any worke that requir'd expedition, her faſhion was εἰς γόνυ ζώσασθαι, as [a] *Theocritus* ſaies, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for feare of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in *Heſiod* is called γυνὴ πυγοστόλος, me thinkes not ſo well rendred *nates ornata*, as [*] *ad nates ſuccincta*, from the *ſtola*, too ſhort to become the modeſty of a Woman, or the uſe of the word among the Latins. I might here take occaſion to ſpeake a great deale of their apparell, and the other many ornaments which they uſed about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other ſorts of this kind, but becauſe there has been promiſed a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I thinke it better to hold my hands. Beſides, I am of *J. Pollux* [*] his mind in this, that for a good many of thoſe names which we find in Authors, where they ſpeake of this kind of things, οὐ ῥᾴδιον τοῖς ἰδίαις ζωστῆρσι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ πρόχειρον εἶναι τὸ καταδηλοῦν, εἴτε σπουδάζοντες, εἴτε παίζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'tis hard to know what faſhion the *things* were of; becauſe it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jeſt or in earneſt in the *names*.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a man had plow'd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mœchus manifeſtarius*, [*] but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they cal'd it) *in the fact*; it was counted ſo much the worſe, and he that found him, might abuſe him as much as he pleaſ'd: yea & kill him too, if the Cuckold did deſire it, (and no doubt, but ſometimes he had *hay in his Horns.*) If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himſelfe; he might have him before the *Theſmothetæ*, and cauſe him to be puniſhed at the

Cc pleaſure

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[a] *Id.* 14.

[*] ἀνασεσυρμένον.

[*] *L.* 5. *c.* 2.

[*] *Plutarch. in Bacchid.*

* Pell. l. 8. c. 9. pleaſure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of puniſhing an adulterer, had as little modeſty as the crime it ſelfe. It was called either παρατιλμὸς, or ῥαφανίδωσις ſynecdochically the part for the whole; for having pluckt off the haire of his privities, they threw hot aſhes in the place, and thruſt up a Raddiſh or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenall, Quoſdam mæchos & mugilis intrat:* Inſomuch that ever after he was diſgracefully call'd εὐρύπρωκτος. A puniſhment little enough for ſo great a vice, ſo great I ſay, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publick uſe of harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpoſe to prevent it. And for the Woman having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for *they* were better) ſhe was not only forbid to go to the Temples, but if ſhe went any where elſe with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her husband lay with her after, he was branded for Ἄτιμος, *a baſe companion.* On the other ſide, if the Women were forc'd, and openly abuſ'd, the Adulterers puniſhment then was no more then a *fine.* And you will not ſo much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you conſider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is ſo much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that muſt break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Ægiſthus* and *Clytemneſtra* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not ſufficient, I refer you to that practice of *Sejanus:* who having on a time receiv'd an affront from *Druſus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cuncta tentanti* (ſaies * *Tacitus*) *promptiſſimum viſum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere. hanc ut amore incenſus adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii ſpem, conſortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had raviſht a young Woman, (ſo ſhe were free borne) his [b] puniſhment was a fine, *viz.* a thouſand

* L. 4. Annal.

b Iſaus pro Pyrrh.

Drachmæ

Drachma: but then beſides that, he was to marry her too (unleſſe it could be made appeare ſhe had taken ſomething of him in conſideration) which puts me in mind of a ſtory of the *Meſſenian* in *Pauſanias*, who to compell *Ariſtodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, kild her with his owne hand, and cut up her belly worſe then *Virginius*. There was a time when a raviſher of a Virgin was to be ſton'd ſhall I ſay, or preſs'd to death, for they called ſuch a puniſhment λάϊνον χιτῶνα, as ſome ſay upon theſe words of *Homer*.

Λάϊνον ἕσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἕνεχ' ὅσσα ἔοργας.

* * *

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione,&c.

THE *Athenians*(ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three ſacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*,and another called *Bazugion*: but yet, ſaies he, ὁ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος ἄροτος, καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει, the plowing for Children is the beſt Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very ſutable to a *Conjugall* condition)he agrees with the expreſſions commonly uſed by the Greeks of χθὼν, and Ἄρουρα, and Αὔλαξ, concerning the Women. For as * *Ariſtotle* ſaies in his *Politicks*, ἐπιλαμβάνοντα φαίνονται τὰ γινόμενα τὸ ἔγγονον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς τῆς γῆς: as alſo with the uſe of the word ἀροῦν for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρώθη,& in his *Antigone* ἀρώσιμοι in the ſame ſenſe. So *Ariſtænetus* [a] in one of his Epiſtles(ſpeaking of a Woman to be Married) ſaies ἐπ' ἀρότῳ παίδων. And *Moſchus* hath an *Epigram* of purpoſe upon Ἔρως Ἀροτριῶν. The Latin word *Sator* anſwers very well to it,and ſo would

* L.7.c.67.

[a] L.1.Ep.18.

would *Inſitor* to the word βλάςιν a bud, and βλαςάνειν, ſo commonly uſed in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the ſame ſence. Now for a Woman with Child, it was ſometime the cuſtome for about forty daies before her time, to abſtaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Ariſtotles* * advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to goe every day a Pilgrimage a certaine journey, to do ſervice to one or other of the Gods of Generation, τῶν εἰληχότων τὴν περὶ τ̃ γενέσεως τιμὴν, and his reaſon was, that they might not ῥᾳθυμεῖν grow *unluſty* by ſitting ſtill, but by this kind of *travelling* prepare their body for a worſe as *Plutarch* ſaies, *Lycurgus* cauſed the Maids of *Sparta* to uſe the exerciſe of wreſtling, and coyting, and ſhooting and the like, that by this meanes having confirm'd their owne health and ſtrength, they might make the ſtronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζοιντο πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, *wreſtle* with the *throwes*. The Principall God whom they pray'd unto, eſpecially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Εἰλείθυια ἀπὸ τ̃ ἐλθεῖν, from her readineſſe to come to the Woman at a call, or a *crying out*:

——Aperire partus[a]
Lenis Elithiia——

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handyneſſe or *dexterity*, and willingneſſe to performe, ſhe was worſhipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, *quod eam putarent facilè Conceptam alvum egerere*; ſaies *Feſtus*, and ſometime under the name of *Facilina*,

——Facilinæ templa Dianæ.[b]

Either *à face*, becauſe ſhe was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if ſhe did but *hold the Candle* to it) and ſo was *Ilithiia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν τόκῳ ὁμοῖαι εἰσὶν αἱ ὠδῖνες, (ſaies *Pauſanias in Arcadicis*) becauſe the paines of a Travell are ſo *hot*: or elſe from *facilis*, *eaſy and without difficulty to be woon*.

——Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.[c] being

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* *Loco prædict.*

[a] *Horat. Carm. Sæc.*

[b] *Sil. Ital.*

[c] *Ovid. Faſt. l. 2.*

likewiſe for the ſame reaſon called by the Greekes προθυραίαν as by *Orpheus*, by whom ſhe is alſo termed εὐαντὴς Σώτειρα, and ὠδίνων Ἐπίκουρος, and Ὠκυλόχεια, becauſe ſhe ſtood ſtill ready as it were *at the doore*, and was alwaies at *hand* to doe the worke of a *hand-woman* —*tu voto parturientis ades.* Or laſtly from *facilis, eaſie, and without paine*, becauſe ſhe gave the Woman *facilem partum*, as he ſaies,

d Id.

Ut ſolvat partus molliter illa ſuos.

For the ſame cauſe, they gave her alſo the title of Γενέθλιος, as the Latins did that of *Genitalis*.

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis:

To this purpoſe I remember a jeſt related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Epheſus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Non eſſe mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravida domo abeſſet : that it was no wonder, becauſe Diana was taken up in helping Olympia.* And yet this jeſt (as *dry* as it is) *Plutarch* is ſo far fró liking, that he ſais it was *cold* enough to have extinguiſht thoſe flames. Laſt of all ſhe was alſo called φωσφόρος, quaſi τοῖς τὸ φῶς ἀδίδουσα τῶν βρεφῶν ἐξόδοις, ſaies the [a] *Scholiaſt*, as much as to ſay *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. For by this name ſhe was moſt of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dediſti :
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

Now this *Lucina* (ſaith [b] *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon; *Luna à lucendo nominata eſt, eadem eſt enim Lucina*. And the Moon being (as [c] *Varro* ſaith) *naſcentiũ dux*, was therefore worſhipped by the womẽ in travel, *quod partus matureſcant ſeptẽ aut nonnunquã novem Lunæ curſibus*: or becauſe the Moon by the *filling* and opening moiſture of her influence, *graviditatem & partus afferat, maturitateſq; gignendi*, as the *Oratour* ſaid in the ſame place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall number*, as you have in *Homer* ——μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι, and in *Ariſtotle*

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[a] *Ariſtoph: in Luciſt.*

[b] *L.* 2. *de Nat. Deor.*

[c] *L.* 4. *de Ling: Lat.*

ſtile θεὰς τὰς ἐπιλοχείων, *&c.* you may take it to be in reference only to ſeverall names of one and the ſame *Diana*, and in eſpeciall manner to thoſe three, *viz.* *Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *Proſerpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins uſed to call her *Diva triformis*; in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing,

Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimiſque letho
Diva triformis.

Diana ſhould be a Gentle-woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I ſaid, for that was the ground, or the principall name: all the other names ſeeme to be but the deſcant, or ſo many *Epithetes*, and *Sur-names* upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὰν δ' εὔλοχον Οὐρανίαν
Τόξων μεδέουσαν
Ἄρτεμιν.

In another tragedy, Ποθοῦσ' Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν and;

—— σεβόμενα θεὸν θεᾷ. Ἄρτεμιν or *Diana* ſtands ſtill the ſubſtantive, and all the reſt hang like ſo many Adjectives. Beſides theſe to the Moone, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themſelves, whom they worſhipped by the name of *Tritopatores*, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* ſay ſome. So many windes ſay one [a] (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables.) But what have women to doe with the Winde? it can blow *them* no good, but a *Tympany*, and ſo puffe them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Protocreon*, and *Philochorus* ſaies, they were the three firſt men that were begotten. And here I muſt tell you of ſomewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs; and pray to them then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it *up*. And thus much I conjecture by thoſe words of *Oreſtes*, when one told him that

[a] *Etymol. Diction.*

that he ſaw *Ægyſthus* Sacrificing to the Nymphs.

[a] Eurip: Elect: v. 616.

[a] Τροφεῖα παίδων, ἢ πρὸ μέλλοντος τόκου;
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De puerperio, ſeu fœtu Maſculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpoſe for that uſe I cannot tell; neither durſt I conclude as much by the λόχιοι θάλαμοι in [b] *Euripides* where ſpeaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he ſaies,

[b] l. Bacch. v. 96.

[b] λοχίοις δ' αὐτίκα νιν
δέξατο θαλάμοις.

At the time of travel they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a vertue either to *conquer* the paine, (for a Palme branch was a token of *Conqueſt*) or to make them *beare up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palm-branch goe downeward) according to that of *Theognis*:

—θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητὼ
φοίνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη.

I do not read that ever before travell they ſtood in feare of ſuch things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni* and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St. *Auſtin* [c] ſaies) ſuppoſ'd thoſe Hobgoblins *improbos ſæpe extitiſſe mulieribus, & earum appetiſſe ac peregiſſe concubitum*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpoſe to ſit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Peſtle, and another with a Broome, cutting, and beating, and ſweeping at the threſholds to keep [a] *Sylvanus* off him; I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their houſe? (as the Hebrew phraſe is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, ſaies * *Apuleius*, ſuch a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, κίονα δόμων, ſaies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and Τροίας ἄμαχον κίονα, ſaies *Pindar* of the ſame

[c] De Civ: Dei l. 15. c. 22.

[a] Ibid: l. 6. c. 9.

* L. 10. Met.

ſame, *Iphigenia* her ſelfe, when ſhe dreamt of the fall of a houſe, could interpret the Pillars for ſo many Sons. For ſaies ſhe,

Στύλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες.

The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reaſon the men ſhould beare the name of the Pillars of the houſe, if the Pillars of the Houſe can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they doe many of them to this day. *Names* they made choyce of the beſt, ſuch as Ἄτλαντες among the Greeks, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worſt, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibboſi*, according to that in *Martial*

—Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.

Beſides in ancient time, 'twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in ſtead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man.

CAP. III.

De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child as ſoone as it was borne, was waſht in Water (or elſe in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedemonian*[a] faſhion, and deſir'd to *prove*, ſhall I ſay, or to *improve* the ſtrength of the Infant.) Of this waſhing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus,

Poſtquam peperit pueros, lavare juſſit, nos occæpimus.
Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus eſt & multum valet!

And ſo likewiſe in *Lycophron* (for I think it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he ſpeaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her ſiſter, and her ſonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὴν τεκοῦσαν ϗ τὸ γεννηθὲν, the Mother and the Child, he did it ſaies he.

[a] Plut. in Lycurg.

Πρὶν ἐκ λοχείας γυῖα χυτλῶσαι δρόσῳ.

from which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be called *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tel you more of this matter. For the Scholiaſt notes upon the word χυτλῶσαι, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was ; and uſed only for the cleanſing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a χύτλον, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. The reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort, *viz.* ἵνα οἱ πόροι ὑπὸ θέρμης ἀνοιχθέντες κλεισθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐμπλασματικοῦ ὄντος, (as the [a] *Scholiaſt* has it) to cloſe up the pores againe after they had been open'd by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυτλῶσαι, ſometimes uſed to ſignify the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter.*

——ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων
Αὐτίκα δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ᾧ κε τόκοιο
Λύματα χυτλώσαιτο.

In alluſion to this χύτλωσις [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀχύτλωτον λοχείην. For coming from ſo cleane a place as *Jupiters* thigh, he had no great need of waſhing.

[a] In Ariſtoph. Plut.

[b] L.9. Dionyſ.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being waſhed, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpoſe by the Mother in the time of her Virginity; as may be conjectured by that which *Creüſa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erectbidæ* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Aegis*, by the help whereof *Perſeus* had cut it off. Beſides the likeneſſe of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Ericthonius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcans* ſeed ſpilt on the ground in forcing of the goddeſſe, and having feet like a Dragon was expoſed and committed by her, to the cuſtody of two vigilant Dragons.

——ἔνθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ
Νόμος τις ἐστὶν, ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

Eurip. in Ion. v.25.& 14.27

Saies the Poët: and from thence came the cuſtome I ſpeak of. And yet perhaps neither thoſe Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing elſe but emblems, uſed by the authors to expreſſe the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for ſo they are like to have been aſſigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Heſperides &c.* & that becauſe of their quickneſs of ſight, according to *Feſtus: Dracones dicti* ἀπὸ τοῦ δρακεῖν, *quod eſt videre: clariſſimam enim habebant oculorũ aciẽ quâ ex cauſâ incubantes eos theſauris cuſtodiæ cauſâ finxerunt*: Being wrap'd in the cloth in ſtead of being put in a cradle, it was either lay'd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre; (& thus was *Hercules* himſelfe, and the *Lacedemonians* generally uſed; thus alſo the * *Celtæ* uſed the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*:) or elſe upon a *Vannus* or *Ventilabrum*

* *Strabo, l.4.*

labrū quod alimentorum copiæ & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant, ſaies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De infantis geſtatione circa focum, & de nominis impoſitione.

WHen the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the houſe. At the ſame time the cuſtome was for the Midwives to waſh their hands. Now in token of *joy* for having a child the Parents bedecked their houſe with Garlands, and in *congratulation* the kindred that intended to be at the *naming feaſt*, ſent their γενεθλίους δόμους (as *Aeſchylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have uſed to do with us at a *Chriſtning*. The things which they ſent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepiæ*, whether as rarities, or for what reaſon, I am yet to ſeeke. The verſes of *Eubulus* cited by *Athenæus* c. 2. ſpeakes as if thoſe things were not kept till the feaſt, but uſ'd the ſame day, as likewiſe Doves, and Thruſhes, and coleworts with oyle, and toſted pieces of *Chreſoneſus-cheeſe*, and I know not what: the whole ſolemnity of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and ſo is the *Genius*, or γενέθλιος θεὸς, θεὸς ἀμφιδρόμιος, from the running about the hearth (which it ſeemes was plac'd in the midſt of the roome) or as we may call it, *Dauncing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but ſurely there muſt be a fire, for *Heſychius* ſaies, thoſe that carried the child muſt be naked. The naming feaſt which I mention'd, was kept upon the ſeventh day after the Birth, ſaies [a] *Ariſtotle*: and his reaſon is, becauſe that day was obſerv'd to be very criticall to moſt things, τὰ πλεῖςα γὰρ ἀναιρεῖται πρὸ τῆς ἑβδόμης, and therefore, ſaies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they preſently gave it a name, ὡς πιςεύοντες μᾶλλον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, as preſuming it would continue ſo. But (with reverence be it ſpoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) becauſe the feaſt which they kept was called δεκάτη, and thoſe which then ſacrific'd (for that was to be done firſt) were ſaid to δεκάτην θύειν, or δεκάτην ἑστιᾶσαι: & at the ſame feaſt (ſaies *Suidas*) where the Kindred wont to meet all together, to be witneſſes (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Againe, beſides the authority of a Scholiaſt upon the word δεκάτην (in *Avibus Ariſtophanis*) I have the plaine teſtimony of the Poet himſelfe in the ſame Comedy in another place, where he brings in *Piſtheteros* thus ſpeaking of Athens, in an alluſion to the cuſtome.

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[a] *L.* 7. *de Hiſt. An.*

Οὐκ ἄρτι θύω τὴν δεκάτην ταύτης ἐγὼ
Καὶ τοὔνομ' ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὴ 'θέμην.

Now a [a] Father might give what name he pleaſ'd to any of his children: but uſually the eldeſt ſonne was called by the name of the Grand-father. I cannot ſay that they kept this name, and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus*, when ſhe came to be elder and wiſer, aſſumed the name of *Theonoe*;* thus *Leucippe* when ſhe was bought, was new nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Iſmenias*, *Atraces*, when he became enſlav'd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Maſters, who preſently gave them new, ſuch as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ Σῦρος; or the colour and complexion, as ὁ Ξανθίας or ὁ πυῤῥίας: or ſome good quality in him, as ὁ πιστὸς, and ὁ δρόμων, or elſe from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νουμήνιος. At Rome the Maſter gave them a name of their owne: but 'twas when they ſet them free, and ſo a new name was a token of liberty too: or of ſomething better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or ſome other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian*, when an Eſtate fell to him,

a *Euſtath, in Il.* 5.

Eur. Hel. v. 13.

* *Achil. Tat. l.* 5.

Euſtat. l. 9.

Phoc. Biblioth. Cod. 279.

See Rev. 2. 17.

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*: and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Persians* &c. or Gods, as every where beſides, which appeares in thoſe names of *Palæmon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Luſtrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though ſome ſay it was done after the firſt nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυσιζώνη, (*Cinxia* you may call her in Latine) and her clothes too (ſaies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Χιτώνη. Untill ſhe were purified, ſhe was as carefully ſhund, as any Woman of the Jewes, inſomuch that reckoning her among the μυσαρὰ, they loathed to goe into the houſe where ſhe lay, as much as if ſhe had layen for dead: or if they happened to goe in unwittingly or by conſtraint; when they came forth againe, they would be ſure to waſh; whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, ἀπό τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος παντός: which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* when bemoaning the condition of *Oreſtes*, whom the *Scythians* deſigned for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, ſhe ſpake her mind ſo plainly in relation to her curiouſneſſe, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a ſlaughter, or a funerall, &c. *I defy* (ſaies ſhe) *the hypocreſy of that Goddeſſe whatever ſhe be, that ſhall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithſtanding out of purity forſooth ſhall forbid ſuch and ſuch to come neer her Altars.*

a Iphig. in Taur. v.380.

[a] Ἥτις βροτῶν μὲν ἤν τις ἅψηται φόνου
Ἢ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκροῦ θίγῃ χεροῖν
Βωμῶν ἀπείργει, μυσαρὸν ὡς ἡγουμένη.

A ſaying ſo cutting to the folly of the beſt of the heathen Theology, that it would have ſounded very well from the mouth of a Chriſtian. For *Thucydides* ſaies, that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Iſle of Delos ſhould by this meanes be polluted, made a law, that no Woman ſhould lie in for child there, but ſhe muſt be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iſland neer adjoining. What day ſhe was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the queſtion put in *Euripides*;

Δέχ' ἥλιοι ἐν οἷσιν ἁγνεύει λεχώ.

Whether it were at the time of the τεσσαρακοστόν, the feaſt that was kept at the forty dayes end (for ſo many dayes ſhe was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδός, when the child was a *tenne night* old, (as we ſay a ſeven night, counting nothing but the nights: for I doe not think tis the tenth month) I doe not well know: but *Electra* ſaies it was ſo,

Δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, ὡς νομίζεται.

Whenſoever the time was: the Woman, after ſhe had waſh'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* ſo called from * thence) ſhe her ſelfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband to the Nymphes, for helping him to ſuch a Wiſe: or both (if you will) to returne their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδὸς ἀεθλὸν πολυσπόρου θυσίαν. It may be in caſe of weakneſſe, or if ſhe were ignorant of rites (as ſhe might be at the firſt) another did it for her, as *Clytemneſtra* did for *Electra* upon her requeſt. But indeed it ſhould be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemneſtra* her ſelfe confeſſed,

Ἄλλης τόδ' ἔργον, ἥ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ τόκων.

During her lying in, the greateſt part of her food was colewort.

* Pauſan. in Ach.

Eurip. Electr. v. 11.28.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes during the time of ſucking, were called τίτθαὶ (from τιτθὸς the ſame that μαστὸς the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίζεσθαι) τροφοὶ dry Nurſes. Now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *uſu liberioris* * *auræ,* and to make the Nurſes the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhould be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes*,

* Rhodig. ex Plat.

ὅδε καὶ χυτρίδιον σπογγίῳ βεβυσμένον.

Saies they were wont to have their ſponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedæmonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe, (& ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelfe) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them, to be nurſes themſelves. And therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe imployment, was faine to excuſe it by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And ſo likewiſe you ſhall find *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complayning of her unhappineſſe, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lall* a child aſleep, they uſed *lallare* to cry λάλα, or βαυκαλᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it. Their ſongs they called καταβαυκαλήσεις, and ſometimes νύννιαι (for ſo is *nænia* uſed in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib.7. Somno occupari ut poſſint leves audiendæ ſunt næniæ,*) ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus.*

Εὕδετ' ἐμὰ βρέφεα γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον
Εὕδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχά, δύ' ἀδελφεώ, εὔσοα τέκνα

Ὄλβιοι εὐνάζοισθε ϗ ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἵκοισθε.
Sleep my little ſoules, &c.

For thus they were wont to ὑποκορίζεσθαι to the child, calling it alſo ſometimes [illegible] or [illegible], or [illegible], and the like,

CAP. VIII.

De expoſitione Infantum.

BUT we ſhall have no need to trouble our ſelves to get Nurſes, if the child either dy of it ſelfe, or be *expoſed* to dye by the Parent. If it die in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, ſaies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall ſacrifice or ſolemnity in Mourning or otherwiſe. As being (in the words of * *Juvenal*) *minor igne rogi.* Which practiſe is by *Plutarch* in his *Conſolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perſwade her not to grieve for the death of her child, Saies he, [illegible]. The cuſtom of *expoſing* children, which the Grecians call ἐκτίθεσθαι, with the people of ancient times was very uſuall; it was exerciſed upon ſuch children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We * read indeed that *Moſes* was uſed thus, because he was טוב or a Godly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *expoſed* to the river. This practice was in moſt places at the pleaſure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpoſe called by them Λέσχη appointed to examine every child, whether it were [illegible] *ſound*, or not. The places where they expoſed them, were ſometimes Rivers and Lakes, ſuch as *Moſes* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Æmilius*; ſometimes a ſinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal.*

* Sat. 6.

* Exod. 7. v. 2.

——*votaque ſæpe*
Ad ſparcos decepta facis, Sometimes a deep pit, ſuch as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, ſometimes Woods and deſert places, ſuch as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* ſaies: *& in alta nemora pabulum miſit feris Avidis*—& and ſometimes the wide Sea, as *Juſtin* ſaies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotē ſuum in mare projici juſſit.* If a child were expoſed any where upon the Land, after they had ſwathed it *[illegible] fasciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot ſome would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria.*

——*verum vidi Cantharam*
Suffarcinatam. As if it were *Suffaſciatam.* Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *ſuffarcinatam*, for as much as *ſuccinctam*. It is ſometimes called ὄστρακον, as by *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, where he ſpeaks of *Oedipus* thus,

——αὐτὸν γενόμενον
ἐξέθεσαν ἐν ὀστράκῳ——

And ſometimes χύτρα, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon the ſame place, whence comes χυτρίζειν *exponere.* What kind of thing that ἀντίπηξ was, wherein *Creuſa* expos'd her Baſtard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot ſo well determine. *Euripides* ſaies it was ἄγγος a veſſel, and that the child was wrapt up in a skinne, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

——ἀνοίξας κύτος
ἑλικτὸν ἀντίπηγος.

Me thinkes it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly ſo then *Moſes* תבה can be: For firſt he ſaies there was ἑλικτὸν, skinne or leather, roll'd or folded up, ſuch as ſome of our Cheſts have. 2. It was faſten'd or lock'd of one ſide: ἀντίπηξ ab ἀντὶ and πήγνυμι, as our trunks are. 3. It was round alſo, and fit to be tumbled as he ſaies,

ἐκτίθησιν ὡς θανούμενον

Κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ.

And for ἀγγεῖον, that will ſerve well enough for any ſuch thing, as well as *vas*, or a *veſſell*. If the child were expoſed on the Water, it was uſually put in a thing made like a baſket, made of oziers, or bulruſhes, dawb'd & cloſ'd with ſlime and pitch ſuch as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though they thus ſet him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be ſure to ſet him forth too, in the beſt manner they could, with rings and jewells, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

—ᵃ ἣν παρθένος χλιδὴν
Τέκνῳ προσάψασ' ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανουμένῳ.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it ſo lying, and would * *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his τροφεῖα, or θρεπτήρια, his charges to breed him advanc'd to his hand; and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would beſtow the paines, to beſtow the coſt too in the burying, according to that in * *Terence*.

—— *cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum*
Detraho, & eum ut unà cum puellà exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis eſſet de noſtris bonis.

Theſe [illegible], or *crepundia*, moſt commonly were faſtned about their necks, and were therefore called περιδέραια, as they were likewiſe called γνωρίσματα; for they were many times, bottles and bells; and ſuch like toyes (and ſo you muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt ornaments & marks) becauſe they were for another end yet beſides the former, *viz.* ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶνται (ſaies * one) not to adorne him, but to mark him ſo as to know him againe, and to ſet the parents name therein, as we uſe to faſten collars and ſuch like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bels were faſtned to find him by the noiſe, as we doe our Hawkes. For you muſt know, every child that was expoſed, was not expoſed with this in-

* *C.* 2. *v.* 3.

ᵃ *Eurip. Ion* *v.* 26.

* *Tolleret.*

* *Heautont.* *Act.* 3. *Sc.* 1.

* *Dio Chryſoſt.*

tent to be killed (as ſome would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of feare it would be killed, if it were not expoſed (as it was with *Moſes*) and ſometimes (if it were a Baſtard) they put it out of purpoſe to have ſome body nurſe it, for if ſhe bred it up her ſelfe, every body would know it. Beſides, when they were expoſed with that intent, the parents for the moſt part had not their ends; for none have proved more famous men then ſuch as were expoſed, as might be made appeare by ſundry examples. At the beſt, expoſing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it: and ſo did the Romans too afterward; among whom no expoſed child could be free of the city. And yet *Ariſtotle* could afford to preſcribe it, ἔςω νόμ☉ μηδὲν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Phyſicks*, i. e, his naturall affection. Our *putting out* children to Nurſe, many times proves little better then expoſing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in ſecret, and ſecure from an enemy, as *Oreſtes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægyſtus*. And therefore *Sophocles* ſpeaking of his manner of life in his youth calls it κρυπτὴν ἴθην, & ſo you might have called him ἀγρόφου τεθραμμένον, in the words of *Lycophron*. but enough of expoſing. I will proceed to ſpeak of the cuſtomes they uſed in education only, becauſe their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak a word *firſt* of the ſeverall ſorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diverſitate.

According to the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, there were foure ſorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰθαγενὴς, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς, the ſonne of a married free Woman. 2. Ὁ νόθος, *qui Latinè reddi non poteſt*, ſaies * *Quintilian*, the ſonne either of a forreigne Woman, or * L. 3.c.6. a Concubine; ſuch a ſonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τῷ νόθῳ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστείαν ſaies *Ariſtophanes*: * and if the caſe were thus when the *Mother* was * In Avib. a ſtranger, how juſt a cauſe had *Ion* in the Poët, to complaine Eurip. v. 592. as he did?

Πατρός τ' ἐπακτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενὴς
Μηδὲν κ' οὐδὲν ὢν κεκλήσομαι.

But if the father were a Prince, or ſome great Potentate (if we may believe *Euſtathius* upon ᵇ *Homer* concerning *Teucer* b Il. 8. who was a *nothus* himſelfe) being *well* borne he muſt needs be *lawfully* borne, and *ſo* he was held in as great eſteeme as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance: *conſuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam Uxorem non habentes aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitimâ haberent, ut lib:ri ex ipſâ nati ſuccederent*, ſaies *Servius*. Whereas the other muſt be pop'd along with a *portion* only of a thouſand *drachmæ* at the moſt: * this portion * Harpoc. they called τὰ νοθεῖα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנת which † *Abraham* gave to the ſonnes of *his* con- a Gen. 25.c.6. cubines: it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *minæ* ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiters* baſtard by *Alcmæna* the Wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Piſthetæros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claime to the leaſt part of his fathers eſtate, makes anſwer thus;

Τί δ' ἐὰν ὁ πατὴρ διδῷ τὰ χρήματα
Τὰ νόθεια;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that. But the other reply'd againe, and confuted his anſwer, by urging *Solons* Law, which ordered indeed that the *nothi* ſhould μετεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων, have the eſtate ſhared among them in portions, but it muſt be only for default of legitimate children and not otherwiſe. This Law is mentioned by *Demoſthenes* in his ſpeech πρὸς Μακάρτατον. Thirdly, Ὁ σκότιος an *obſcure* ſonne, whoſe Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius.* As if he were nothing but *terræ filius*, riſing out of the ground like the *wind*, or as if he were *begotten of the wind*, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father; like the egges which they call ὑπηνέμια, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In alluſion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* ὑπηνέμιον παῖδα, becauſe they fained him to be *borne* of *Juno*, but *begot* of the *Winde*, or they knew not whom. 4ly. Ὁ παρθενίας, ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐν γάμῳ παρθένου δόξης συνοικούσης ἐγκύμων, ſaies *Pollux*, *A Sonne borne in Wedlock, of a woman with child when ſhe married, whom the Husband took for a Maid.* To theſe may be added, firſt εἰσποιητὸς or ὁ θετὸς, a *ſonne* not *begotten*, but *made*, or *adopted*: of whom (it may be) I ſhall ſpeak more anon. Secondly, Ἐλεύθερος *liber*, whoſe father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus*, *made free.* and third'y ἐξελεύθερος *ingenuus*, the ſonne of ἐλευθέρος. Any ſonne begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the only beloved, they uſually called * τηλύγετος.

* 1. *Pol.*

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is ſaid of Greece, that it took the beſt courſe in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the world. In ſo much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of κουροτρόφος, by way of excellency above the reſt. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the ſame to *Ithaca*: as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Ariſtophanes* his *Theſmophoriazuſæ*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to ſacrifice to ſuch and ſuch Gods, among the reſt brings in

Καὶ τῇ κουροτρόφῳ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῆ here be *Tellus* in generall; the Mother and the Nurſe of the Creatures; or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the beſt Nurſe of the *beſt*, I know not, but thus much is deliver'd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Erichthonius* the poor expoſ'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgment of his education in that land, firſt ſacrificed to this γῇ κουροτρόφῳ, and having built an Altar of purpoſe to her, made a Law that whoſoever would ſacrifice to any other God, ſhould ταύτῃ προθύειν, doe it to her firſt. Well let us ſee a little what their manner of education was. They ſay the Children were uſually taught νεῖν τε κολυμβᾷν, ἔπειτα ϗ γράμματα, *firſt to ſwimme and dive, and then to read*; Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philoſophy, Muſick, Gymnicall exerciſes, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in caſe his Father ſhould come to poverty, he was not bound to maintaine * him, as otherwiſe he was. Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater ſort in a luſtfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἀκόλουθοι *Pages*: all ſuch *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were uſually called * πῶλοι, though I know, πῶλος and σκυμνὸς too, are frequently uſed by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

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* Plut. in Solon.

* Heſych.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Caſtigatione &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and ſtubborne in committing a fault, the beſt means the Mother could uſe to perſwade him to leave it, was to ſhew him her breaſts, ὡς τὸ μαστῶν ἱκετικόν, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as the moſt powerfull motive ſhe had. But the Fathers and the Maſters took another courſe with him. If a boy had deſerved to be whipt, he ſhould be ſure enough of his wages from *them*, for they tyed him faſt τῷ ξύλῳ, to a *block*, to make him *kiſſe the poſt*; or τῷ πασσάλῳ, *to a ſtake* or *a pinne*, and ſo whipt him. And thus to be puniſhed they called it διαπατταλεύεσθαι. διαπατταλευθήσει χαμαί, ſaies he in [a] *Ariſtophanes*, which is rendred by *Friſchlin*, *Diſtentus affigere humi*, as if they ſtretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, & armes, & leggs to pins faſtned in the ground for that purpoſe, to keep him from ſtriving. I know not whether this were the ſame as they called [b] τυμπανίζεσθαι, or ἀποτυμπανίζεσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the ſtretching or pulling of the ſkinne, only *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët ſpeaks when he ſaies, Ἡ βύρσα σου θρανεύσεται, from the θρᾶνος, or the ſtoole, whereon they ſtretcht him or beat him, as they would a ſkinne or a hide. That torture of one of the ſeaven brethren in the [c] *Macchabes*, pulling his ſkinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true *apotympaniſmum*, to have been a torture or a rack exerciſed upon any by Tyrants, rather then a puniſhment of boyes and children by their Maſters. For ſo *Ariſtotle* in the ſecond book of his [d] Rhetoricks, ſaies that *Antiphon*

[a] In Equit.

[b] Ep. ad Hebr. c. 1. v. 35.

[c] L. 2. c. 7. v. 7.

[d] L. 2. c. 8. ſ. 38.

tiphon the Poët, was uſed by *Dionyſius* the Tyrant. And in the ſixth * Chapter of the ſame book, ſpeaking of the want of all feare, in ſuch as had already ſuffered the extremity of evills, he inſtances in thoſe that are thus uſed; ὥσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι. And ſo *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon thoſe flatterers of *Ptolomie*, that even τυμπανίζοντος, *when he was thus racking and torturing of men*, durſt not open their mouthes to diſſwade him. But yet I believe alſo, that there was an eaſier kind of τυμπανισμὸς, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called τύμπανα (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they ſuffered, for the Scholiaſts on theſe words of *Ariſtophanes* in *Pluto* ὅ τύμπανα ϗ κύφωνες—— ſaies both ἐφ' ἃς, *on* which and ἃς, *with* which they beat him.) And that boyes were puniſhed with ſuch a thing, I have cauſe to think, from theſe words of *Plutarch* ἀποτυμπανισμῷ τὸ παιδίον &c. But to return to the puniſhment with the *Paſſalus*, I know the word πάσσαλος in that Poët, is more often uſed to expreſſe another manner of handling a man, by any body elſe as well as a Maſter. For inſtance, in *Theſmophoriazuſa*, when one kept a great deale of noiſe, and would not be ſilent, another threatens him to put a πάσσαλον in his mouth.

——ἐμβαλῶ σοι
Πάσσαλον ἐν τῷ στόματι.

Where the Scholiaſt ſaies he alluded to the trick (uſed with us alſo) of thruſting a ſtick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would ſee whether it had τὰς χαλάζας, the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poët himſelfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to uſe another in this very manner. That faſhion of tying the boyes to a ſtake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themiſtius*, under the name of [illegible], in his firſt Oration, where ſpeaking of *plagoſus Orbilius*, that uſed to *pay* the poore and Fatherleſſe children to the purpoſe, becauſe they could pay *him* no better, ſaies he, [illegible], &c. And ſo *Prometheus*, whom

* T. 24.

Ff the

the Gods tyed to *Caucaſus-hill* for ſtealing fire, is ſaid by *Menander*, to have been προσπεπατταλευμένος, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

> Εἶτ' οὐ δικαίως προσπεπατταλευμένον
> Γράφουσι τὸν Προμηθέα πρὸς ταῖς πέτραις.

Where he prettily pleads his cauſe, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for ſo ſmall a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For firſt, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it, unleſſe it were found in the act of adultery) any one might ſell his child when he [a] pleaſed. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύξαι τὸν υἱὸν, [b] *abdicere filium ſuum*, turne him out of doores. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cauſe, ſaies [*] *Demoſthenes*: and then the κήρυξ, or the Cryer went about, and cryed that ὁ δεῖνα, ſuch a one did deny τὸν δεῖνα, ſuch a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus uſed, was ſaid ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ γένους, to be rejected out of the Family, and was called ἀποκήρυκτος. If he were received into favour againe, he was ſaid ἀνακομισθῆναι εἰς τὸ γένος, to be taken into the family againe: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

[a] Plut. in Sol.
[b] Lucian.
[*] πρὸς Βοιωτόν

CAP. XII.

De Aſcriptione in Φρατρίας.

THE Sonnes when they came to be three yeares old at the ſooneſt, and ſeven at the lateſt, were carried by their Fathers to the φράτορας, and regiſtred in the Tribe. But before they could be regiſtred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithſtanding the Oathes, those heads of the Tribe if they liſted, might queſtion the matter, and put them to a ſuit in [*] Law. The time on which this was uſually done, was the third day of the Feaſt Ἀπατουρία. Which was ſo called, either accor-

[*] Demoſt. πρὸς Μακαρτ.

ding to the Etymologicall dictionary, becauſe the ſons which before might be thought ὡς ἀπάτορες ὄντες, to have *no Father*, did now make it appeare, who the Father was, Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, becauſe at that feaſt, ἐν οἷς πατέρες καὶ L. 1. Ελλην. οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the fathers met altogether: & ſo it muſt be call'd Ἀπατούρια, in that manner as a wife is call'd, ἄλοχος, for ὁμόλεκτρος; or ἄκοιτις, for Ὁμόκοιτις: where A is ἐπιτατικὸν, & not a privative; as likewiſe in ἀτενὴς, and many other ſuch words. The third day of the feaſt was called by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς, as who would ſay a *Shearing-feaſt*: becauſe at that time they uſed to *cut their haire*. The haire which they cut, they called μαλλὸν, or σκόλλυν, or θρεπτήριον πλόκαμον, in oppoſition to πενθητήριος, that which they cut at a funerall. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nouriſhed of purpoſe till that time, and conſecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himſelfe: for when *Pentheus* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing elſe to diſſwade him, but to tell him it was *ſacred*, (like the lock of the [a] *Nazarites*) [a] Numb. c. 6. v. 5.

[a] Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος· τῷ θεῷ δ᾽ αὐτὸν τρέφω. [a] Eurip. in Bacch. 494.

And thus *Theſeus* is ſaid to have conſecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut, becauſe it was the firſt time that ever they cut it, and becauſe it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμης ἀπαρχαὶ, *the firſt fruits* of the haire, (for the word both Engliſh, Greeke, and Hebrew, is appliable to any thing that is firſt.) Such firſt fruits of his Beard [b] Sueton. c. 12. ejus vitæ. [b] *Nero* put it into a Golden boxe, which he adorned with precious jewells, and laid it up in the Capitoll.

If the children were of a noble bloud, they would goe as farre as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, ſome to one God, and ſome to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were Gods enough of conſcience) at Rome, beſide *Apollo*, whom ſtill one or other was carefull to ſupply (notwithſtanding his own *Intonſum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos à vertice crines. Martial

Æſculapius was remembred too. For *Statius* ſpeaks of one *Earinus*, that ſent his haire to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beſet with jewels, and a looking glaſſe beſides,

Mar. Ep. 9.

——*dulciſque capillos,*
Pergameo poſuit dona ſacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Veſtall Virgins hung up theirs upon a *Tree*; which *Feſtus* ſaies they kept for the purpoſe, by the name of *Capillaris?* The Nuns the Veſtall Virgins of theſe times have no ſuch need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they beſtow a *love-lock* for *entrance*, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is aſſerted by ſome, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others ſay, that this regiſtring in the Tribe-book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteene yeares old, and the enroling of them into the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον at eighteen: according to that of *Pauſanias in Eliacis*, where he ſaies, that after they were eighteen yeares old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be ſo bold as to be of a contrary mind. For firſt, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timeus*, ſaies that when they went to be regiſtred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, three or foure yeares old, and there is my authority. 2ly. *Cnemon in Heliodorus* ſaith, he was regiſtred as ſoon as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been ſooner then at fifteen yeares old: and there is my example. 3ly. It is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Regiſtring they offered up the *firſt-fruits* of their haire: and it is not likely they ſhould let it alone till fifteen yeares of age, and there is my reaſon. But, *Si quid noviſti rectius &c.* It is all one to me.

CAP.

CAP. XIII.

De aſcriptione in Epheborum cenſum, & in album Lexiarchicū.

WHen they came to be eighteen yeares old, *εἰσάγουσιν εἰς ἐφήβους*, they were liſted among the number of thoſe that were *ἔφηβοι puberes.* And to this purpoſe they had certaine Officers appointed to ſearch them to ſee whether they were ſo or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) *περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν*, to keep Guard, or doe ſervice in the City. (of which hereafter.) This ſearch or examination was called *Δοκιμασία*. If they were found to be *puberes*, ſound wind and Limb, and like to prove Souldiers, they were led into the Temple of *Argulus*, where they took a ſolemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon *Κουρεῶτιν* too, and that may be the occaſion of the difference I lately ſpake of. Neither were theſe later rites performed without cutting of haire too. But commonly the faſhion was, either then, or at any other time but the firſt, to conſecrate their haire, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, eſpecially ſuch as belonged to the Country they lived in, *τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποταμοῖς.* Thus much may be gathered from [b] *Peleus* his *vow* to conſecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* returned in ſafety: and [c] *Memnons* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: ſo (as [*] *Paul* ſhaved his haire at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occaſion,) The Nazarites, when *they* cut their *haire of* [*] *conſecration*, were to make uſe of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongſt the Greeks the cuſtome of paying tribute for their haire, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cauſe of life and growth) was very uſuall both in men and women, eſpecially in times of mourning, when they cut it moſt. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where ſhe bemoans the condition of the poor

Schol. in Hom. Il. ψ.

[b] *Pauſan. in Att.*

[c] *Philoſtr.*

[*] Acts. 18.18.

[*] Num. c.3.

poore *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the Warre, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamandar:*

a *Eurip. Helen.* v.372.

[a] Ἀπὸ δὲ παρθένοι κόμας
Ἔθεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν
Σκαμάνδριον ἀμφὶ φρύγιον οἶδμα.

Unleſſe you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephœbi*) they firſt took a veſſell of Wine (μέτρον οἴνου, ſaies *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called τὰ οἰνιστήρια from the Wine. And here it may not be amiſſe, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poëts of two ſeverall waies of cutting of their haire, in uſe among the Greeks. The one was Κῆπος, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a *garden*: the other called σκάφιον, when they ſhaved it ſo cloſe to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two yeares *puberes*, ἐπὶ διετὲς ἡβῶντες, (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty yeares old, εἰς ἄνδρας ἐνεγράφοντο *they wrote men*, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his ληξιαρχικὸν λεύκωμα, *in Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all thoſe that belonged to his *Dmeus*. It had this name παρ' τὸ λῆξιν, (or τὸ κλῆρον) ἄρχειν, becauſe as ſoone as any ones name was written therein, he might be *maſter* of an eſtate *himſelfe* if he had it. Beſides this book, there was πινάκιον πύξινον a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to ſet down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, & that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepſion*.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to *age*, or *neceſſity*, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him(unleſſe he were a *nothus*,or had not been bred up to a *calling)* he might be ſerved with a Writt ἡ κακώσεως τῶν γονέων; and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill; and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not only to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτὰ, and θρεπτήρια, or τροφεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckon'd themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing ſo much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad* δ.

——ὁ δὲ τοκεῦσι
Θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε μινυνθάδιος δέ οἱ αἰὼν
Ἔπλετ'—— rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus. a *L.* 6.
——*nec reddita charo*
Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the *Parent* might very well ſay to his children[b] *Non eſt beneficiū, quod poſcitis; ſed faſcinus quod negatis.* b *Quintil.*
And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have *decl.* 6.
found them for the moſt part, very carefull to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their *Parents*, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them, *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when a *In Ariſtoph.*
he came home againe, the Daughters themſelves, preſently *Veſp.*
fell to waſhing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἔθος ἐμάλαττον τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας ſaith the Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had uſed the

Epithete Λιπαροὶ for the ſeet, in alluſion to this anointing, (it may be) they uſed to kiſſe them too (as *ſhee* did the feet of our Saviour) for ſo ſaith he of his Daughter in *Ariſtophanes.*

——καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀπονίζῃ, καὶ τὼ πόδ' ἀλείφῃ καὶ προσκύψασα φιλήσῃ.

[*] Eurip. Med. v. 133. For the Children thus to maintaine their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκεῖν, and ſo *Medea* uſes the word to her children at parting.

——εἶχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμὲ.

Next to the charges of *maintaining* the parent when he is *old*, are thoſe of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and thoſe to be borne by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in *his* roome, which being then very old, he muſt ſhortly leave in his *owne*; *Well* (ſaies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more ſons now;*

a Idem in Alceſt. v. 664.

[a] Οἵ γηροβοσκήσουσι καὶ θανόντα σε
Περιστελοῦσι, καὶ προθήσονται νεκρόν.

That will you *feed*, and ſhrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when yon are dead.

And now that we have brought the man ſo neer to his end; we will ſhew him what courſe he is to take for the diſpoſing of his eſtate, only becauſe if he ſhould have no children at all, or none ſuch as they ſhould be, there might be a doubt what to doe; I will ſpeak a word of that firſt.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, teſtamento, & hereditate:

* Iſæ. de Ariſtarch.

If a man had either no child at all, or none that was γνήσιος, *free borne*, he had power [*] to adopt him a *nothus* or any one elſe. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, ſign'd and ſeal'd in the preſence of the Magiſtrate, as their Willes were wont to be. Whoſoever was thus adopted, muſt be firſt made free of the City, and then be aſcrib'd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this laſt was to be done upon the feaſt of Θαργήλια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to returne to it againe, till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans eſtate it paſſed to another either κατὰ γένος *by deſcent*, or κατὰ διαθήκην; *by vertue of a will*, Now by *Solons* laws (for before, their eſtate could not be convey'd but to thoſe of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire, of any eſtate that he had which was not in controverſy: but with theſe ſix qualifications. Firſt he himſelfe muſt be no Foole nor Mad-man. 2 No priſoner, ſo as to make his will againſt his will: for then it could be no will. 3 No ſtranger, for then his eſtate went to the common treaſure. 4 No adopted man, for ſuch a ones eſtate (if he wanted a child, was to paſſe to the * next of the Adopters kindred.) 5 Not perſwaded thereunto by his Wife: for ſuch a one (ſaies my * author) μελαγχολᾶν δοκεῖ, *is little better then a mad-man.* 6 Not having a male child of his owne; for then the inheritance ſhould goe to him. And if there were more Males then one, they were to be ἰσόμοιροι, *copartners*, or *joyntenants*. But in caſe he had no male child at all, and dyed without a Will, the eſtate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not γνήσιοι, *free borne and ligitimate*: the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μονοκληρονόμος, ſole heire. And therefore *he* in *Ariſtophanes Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not poſſibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate ſons:

— — πῶς ἂν ποτε
Ἐπίκληρον τὴν εἶναι Ἀθηναίαν δοκεῖς.

Demoſt.

* Demoſt. ad Leothar.

* Id cont. Olympiodorum.

[illegible]

I ſay this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond μέδιμνον κριθῶν, ſix buſhells, (they ſay it is) or the value of ſuch a meaſure of Barly. He to whom the eſtate did paſſe, by what way ſoever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretor: which thing they called λαχεῖν τὸν κλῆρον, or ἐπιδικάζεσθαι τοῦ κλήρου. And if any one would παρακαταβάλλειν, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to proſecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I ſhall therefore endeavour to ſhew him how to have that done too in the ampleſt manner; only firſt, I will ſatisfy him of the neceſſity of having a buriall.

Iſæus de Ariſtarch.

Demoſt. contr. Stephan.

CAP. XVI.

De neceſſitate ſepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in his *Topicks*, divides juſtice into three kinds, *unam ad ſuperos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem*: of the ſecond kind of juſtice *viz. to the dead*, I doe find every where among the ancients ſo religious a care, and ſuch ſacred eſteemes of a *buriall*; that ſepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funerall acknowledged and called to be νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *juſta* by the Latins. Inſomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcaſe of another, whoſoever it were: he ſhould be bound to caſt earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe,

—— *Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare ——

a Ælian: Var. Hiſt. l.5.c.14.
a Horace l.1. Od. 28.

The Romans (it ſeems by *Quintilian: Declam.* 5. obſerved this cuſtome exceeding well, for (ſaies he) *Ignotis Cadaveribus hominum congerimus, & inſepultum quodlibet corpus nulla feſtinatio tam rapida tranſcurrit, ut non quantulocunque veneretur aggeſtu.* And if any one omitted the duty, he muſt make ſatisfaction by ſacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam *præcidaneam* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: [illegible] Whoſoever ſaw a dead body, & did not turne up the duſt upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but ἐναγὴς, a *ſcelus*, an *accurſed devoted fellow*, *anathema*, (for what ſhould the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw ?) and therefore they accounted [illegible], ſaies the Scholiaſt upon * *Euripides*, and [illegible] very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongſt them, then [illegible] χθονὸς, that *he might not be covered with the earth*. Mee thinkes I ſee * *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles* as he was ready to ſtabbe him, and * *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his ſword) earneſtly beſeeching them not to ſuffer their bodies, when their ſoules were removed, to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the dogges and the birds*. Hence ſurely it was, that the ancients ſtood ſo much in feare of a death upon the ſea: or a ſhipwrack becauſe of death: for there they could never be interred.

* Feſtus c.14.

* In Helen.

* Homer.
Sophoc.

Demite naufragium & mors mihi munus erit.

ſaies *Ovid*. Inſomuch that when they went to Sea, or at leaſt when they feared to be *caſt away* (as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have loſt the body too) their cuſtome was to faſten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that ſhould find it, and bury it, if it were caſt a ſhore. [illegible] : Saies *Syneſius* in one

of

of his Epiſtles. Moreover not onely if a corps were not buried at all: but if it were not buried as ſoone as poſſibly it could, it was counted ἀδίκημά τι τοῦ νεκροῦ, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it μείλιγμά τι τοῦ νεκροῦ, that they had done them a pleaſure. You have thoſe two words uſed by the Scholiaſt, upon the ſaying of *Homer*. *Iliad.* 7.

——ἐπεί κε θάνωσι πυρὸς μειλισσέμεν ὦκα.

Patroclus is ſaid to have been angry with *Achilles* for ſuch a delay, and how true it is which one ſaies, that the bodies were kept fourteen daies and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I doe not yet finde. *Alex. ab Alex. l.* 3. *c.* 7.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocandâ animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happineſſe of *being buried*, was that of being *buried in their own Country.* Inſomuch that if a Man died ſo farre from home, that they could not come to the *body*; they were wont with ſolemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχήν. —*manes ter voce vocare* (as I may ſay) *to give a hallow for the Soule:* which they thought was ſtill *quick* enough to come to *them.* [a] *Pindar* ſaies, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Cholchis*, deſir'd *Pelias* to ſee this office perform'd for him

——κέλεται γὰρ ἑὰν
Ψυχὰν κομίξαι Φρίξος——

And ſo *Ulyſſes*, after he had loſt threeſcore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, preſently made it his buſineſſe (ſaies *Homer*). ——τρὶς ἕκαστον ἀῦσαι: *to give a hoop for every one three times*, As *Theocritus* ſaies of *Hylas*, τρὶς μὲν ὕλαν ἄϋσεν. In *Virgil* he is named but twice. *Id.* 13. *Eclog.* 6.

——*Hylam nautæ quo fonte relictum*
Clamaſſent: ut littus Hyla, Hyla, omne Sonaret:

[a] *In Pyth. Od.* 4.

Doubt

Doubtleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their *bodies* alſo might be rolled under ground, into their native Country, as ſome of the *Iewes* doe think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan.* And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. For as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanes Ranis* ſaies concerning the dead.

Οἷς οὐ γὰρ τρὶς λέγοντες ἐξικνούμεσθα.

They are gone ſo farre (οἴχονται οἴχεσθαι *to go* is uſed alſo for *to dye,* we ſay a man is *dead, & gone*) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the man, unleſſe you can finger the carcaſſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a monument they called Κενοτάφιον: and to bury a man thus in *effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in * *Euripides.*

Ὃν Τυνδαρὶς παῖς ἥδ' ἀπόντα κενοταφεῖ.

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poët in *Hecuba,* gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ εὐκλεῶς τι κατορθώσαντα, κἂν ἐν ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ ταφῶσιν, χῶσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῶν τῆς μνήμης, *though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphion* Κενήριον, from ἠρίον a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Æneas* made for his Father. ——[b] *Tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem*
Conſtitui—— [c] *Progne* for *Philomela.*
——*& inane Sepulchrum*
Conſtituit—— The *Pythagoreans* for thoſe *qui à Philoſophiâ ſuâ deſciviſſent,* (accounting them *as bad as* departed out of the life, that had departed from their *principles*) The *Athenians* for all thoſe that died upon the Sea.

Ὡς γὰρ θανόντα σ' ἐνάλιον κενῷ τάφῳ
Θάψαι—— ſaies the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. 'Tis worth your labour to read the ſtory, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a ſuit of clothes in a

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* *Helen:* v. 1562.

[b] *Virg. Aen.* 6.

[c] *Ovid. l.* 6. *fab.* 8.

beere, as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τίς δ' ἐσ' ἀπόντων τύμβος, ἢ θάψεις αὐτόν;
Hel. Ἕλλησιν ἐσ' νόμος, ὃς ἂν πόντῳ θάνῃ.
Theoc. Τί δρᾶν; σοφοὶ γὰρ Πελοπίδαι τὰ τοιάδε.
Hel. Κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν πέπλων ὑφάσμασιν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an *empty* beere in pompe, and a buriall, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the statelieſt manner that might be. For with this provision for his buriall he in * *Aristophanes* comforted himſelfe and his friend, ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νῷ. what need I ſay more of this? It was a common thing every were as ᵃ *Ovid* ſaies;

* In Avibus.

a L. 11.fab.10.

Et ſæpe in tumulis ſine corpore nomina legi.

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri ſolebant.

THE cuſtomes uſed in *Athens* upon the dead body, were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end, *viz.* Violent, and Naturall. And firſt of the cuſtomes uſed in a violent death. If the man had kil'd himſelfe (αὐτόχειρ) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the reſt of the body. So ſaies *Cal. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him ſo. In dieing or (falling down) Men and Women, but eſpecially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not diſcover any thing that was not to be ſeen, but εὐσχημόνως πεσεῖν as *Euripides* ſaies of *Polyxena*. If *another* killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it juſtly and in a good cauſe, though he waſhed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature), yet he uſed to take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, σύμβολον τῦ δικαίως πεπραχέναι, (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he fear'd not if heaven were witneſſe, & all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly, inſteed of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the haire of the party ſlaine: [illegible] (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, *and wipe away* the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ὁμόφυλος and συγγενικός (as he ſaies) i. e. *If the party were one of his owne Tribe or kindred*: he could never wipe it ſo cleane, but ſome would ſtick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided amulets and ſpells to keep them off. And what better thing then a part of the body it ſelfe? for having that in their power as a hoſtage, to doe what they would with it, the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as ſoon as they had ſlaine him, they cut off all the *extreme* or *outmoſt parts* of the outmoſt members: and ſewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. The *extremities* thus uſed they call'd ἀκρωτήρια, and ſo to uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, ſo as they call'd it likewiſe, if they did but cut the *topps* of the *ears* when a man had committed a fault, ſaies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*: which may more properly be called λωβάζειν, from λοβὸς the lap of the eare. Though that word, and λυμαίνεσθαι, be alſo uſed for as bad uſage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν: unleſſe you will ſay this was properly ſaid to be done, when they killed the party quite. Thoſe ἀκρωτήρια are ſometimes called ἀπάργματα or ἐξάργματα, as in* *Apollonius*, where he ſpeakes of *Abſyrtus* his being thus uſed by his ſiſter *Medea*.

Soph. in Electra.

* L. 4.

Ἥρως δ' Αἰσονίδης ἐξάργματα τάμνε θανόντος.
Ἡ θέμις αὐθέντῃσι δολοκτασίας ἱλάεσθαι.

And ſomtimes μασχαλίσματα from μασχαλίζειν, the ſame that ἀκρωτηριάζειν; becauſe oftimes they hung thoſe pieces of the body ὑπὸ μασχάλαις to their armeholes of which *Sophocles* ſpeaks thus:

'Τῷ 'ς θανὼν ἄτιμος ὥστε δυσμενὴς
'Εμασχαλίσθη.

But if he had kil'd the man by treachery, he hung thoſe pieces about his *neck*, and taking ſome of the bloud, ſpit three times in his mouth. This faſhion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noſes, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in uſe likewiſe among the Romans: not only upon men *ſlain*, (as *Quintilian* ſaies, *truncas partibus ſuis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil Æn.6.*

Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi, lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manuſque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares.

C. 1. v. 7. That practice of *Adonibezeks* which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *acroteriaſmus*, as this was.

The uſuall puniſhments to be ſuffered by him that had kill'd another were theſe. If he had done it unwillingly he muſt fly his owne Country, and get into another (as the Iſraelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he muſt

Joſhua c. 20.
* On Homer Il. O.

betake himſelfe (ſaid the Scholiaſt) [illegible] into ſome great mans houſe that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an ἱκέτης or Petitioner) and there ſet him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) [illegible], to expiate the fact, and purge himſelfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his

* Schol. in Eurip. Hippol
a lib. 18.

own Tribe or kindred, he muſt tarry out of his Countrey a whole yeare at the leaſt. a *Euſtathius* ſaies anciently they ſuffered them ſomtimes to redeeme their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold But afterward, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe: Inſomuch that a Murtherer was not only forbid χερνίβας νέμειν, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *to participate in their Sacrifices himſelfe.* But every body elſe (of his owne Countery was forbid to receive him into his houſe. Nay they might not be allowed to *ſpeak* to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον ὄντα, ἐναγῆ, ſo unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* ſaies οὐ γὰρ ἄνδρα φησὶ αὐτὸν καλῶ. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, ſaies, that among the *Theſſali*, they uſed to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had ſlain; as *Euridamus* did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thraſymus*. * Il. X,

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulſandis æneis vaſis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the Cuſtome among the Greeks, as well as among the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or his Sun was a ſetting as they uſed to ſay—ἄλλον ἄμμι δυόμενον to have his eyes cloſed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred: and they call'd it Σύγκλειον τῶ ὄμματος. The performing of this ceremony by the *Kindred*, was ſo much valued, that it was bewaild as a very great unhappineſſe, to dye in ſuch a place where a mans friends could not be preſent to do it: as *Ulyſſes* ſaies. Theoc. Il. O.

—οὐ μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
Ὄσσε καθαιρήσουσι θανόντι —

If a *man* died ſuddainly; ἀφνιδίως (ſaies the * *Scholiaſt* upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*: if a *Woman* to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, that juſt at the time of death, they had a cuſtome likewiſe to make a great *ringing* with *veſſels of Braſſe*, (*Bells*, ſome render it) to fright away the Hobgoblings, and Furies from the Soul. For ſuch a kind of ſound (he ſaies) is ὡς ἁγνὸν καὶ ἀπελαστικὸν τῶν φασμάτων of a ſpecial virtue for ſuch effects. But elſe I ſhould rather imagine it to have been done for the ſame end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but *Il.

dead aſleep (not *dead and gone*) and ſo to awake him with the noyſe, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclypſe, when they thought her aſleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids; the face was next cover'd with a cloth: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hyppolitus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur. Hipp. v. 148.

Κρύψον δέ μου πρόσωπον ὡς τάχος πέπλοις.

And indeed the whole buſineſs of ſtretching out and ſhrowding the body, belonged eſpecially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Caſſandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better than that of the Greeks that beſieged them, ſaies, That *they*, having the happineſſe to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

χερσὶν περισταλέντες ὧν ἐχρῆν ὕπο:

Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin. If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the Children did it. And ſo *Medea* tells her Children, ſhe had once hopes it ſhould have been done by them to her ſelf.

Eur. Med. v. 1036.

καὶ κατθανοῦσαν χερσὶν εὖ περιστελεῖν.

If the Husband died the Wife did it. Which happineſſe the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at Troy.

—οὐ δάμαρτος ἐν χεροῖν

Troam. v. 277.

Πέπλοις συνεστάλησαν.

If a brother; the ſiſter. Which made *Oreſtes* when he was to ſuffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out ſo pittifully,

Id Iphig. in Taur.

Οἴμ'. πῶς ἄν μ' ἀδελφῆς χεὶρ περιστείλειεν ἄν.

Alack! how ſhall my Siſter ſhrowd me now?

CAP. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naula Charontis.

THE body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, *Sacred*: thoſe that are dead are called ἱεροὺς by [a] *Plutarch*, and the

[a] In vita Numæ.

e graves themſelves ἀγάκεια by *Lycophron*, as ſoon as the dy was in. *Sacred* I ſay, that is not to be injured, far ugh from *holy*, inſomuch that if a man had but toucht it, ἄγη χέρειν (as you have read it already) he could not ddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had waſhed, as [illegible], a Jew: *Toucht* did I ſay? when *Hyppolitus* lay a dying, *Diana* ould not ſo much as ſtay to *ſee* him dead, for fear of pollution.

Καὶ χαῖρ᾽ ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ θέμις φθιτοὺς ὁρᾶν,
Οὐδ᾽ ὄμμα χραίνειν θανασίμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς,

The ſame may be ſaid of the graves δυσφήμοιο τάφου, ſaies *Heſiod*; for ἀγνὰ they were not, but onely in this ſenſe, that they were ἀκίνητα, not to be medled with, as ſome would have it to be meant by that of the ſame Poet,

Μηδ᾽, ἐπ᾽ ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν—— Eur. Hipp. v. 1437.

Inſomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Queſt.* ſaies, that thoſe men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of ἄγιοι themſelves. The whole performance of the ceremonies uſed to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Æſchylus*) Συγκομιδὴ, as the *elation* or carrying forth, was called ἐκκομιδή. The ceremonies were theſe. Firſt they took a piece of money above a half-penny ('twas dearer there than at Rome) and put it into his mouth to *ſpeak* his *fare* to the πορθμεὺς, or Ferriman *Charon*: the piece of mony was called by the name of δανάκη, becauſe it was given τοῖς δανοῖς: which ſignifies the *dead*, from δανὸς dry, becauſe of their *dry bones*. *I* remember the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite:

—παρὰ τ᾽ Αὐαίνε λίθον (ſaies that there was a ſtone which the Poet fain'd to be ἐν ᾅδου, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Avanus* παρὰ τὸ αὔειν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκεῖ, *becauſe the bodies of the dead muſt needs be as dry as duſt*.

Together with the money, they threw in a morſel of pudding

ding or paſt, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was uſually made of flower temper'd with hony (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελιτοῦττα, and μᾶζα μελιτωμένη· ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς εἰς τὸν Κέρβερον, ſaies *Suidas*, ſuch a kind of thing *Aeneas* is ſaid to have given him, when he viſited the dead.

Melle ſaporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit,

Æn. 6.

Metam. l. 6.

Apuleius ſpeaks of more pieces than one, *offas polenta mulſo concretas*: and ſaies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in * *Luſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number

——— σορὸν ὠνήσει·
Μελιτοῦτταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάξω.

* Ariſtophan.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtom in thoſe words of his in *Pace*.

οὔτ' ἄλφιτ' οὔτε πυρὸν ὡς ἀπολλύμενος.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo fera

IF the party deceaſed were free of the City, the νεκρο (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body: as thoſe * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper room*. This Λουτρὰ πανύστατα (as *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in [a] *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelf aforehand, and ſave the Women a labour: [a] ὥρα τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν, δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤδη βέλτιον λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*, when ſhe intended to dye for her Husband. Saies the

* Acts c. 9. v. 37.

Eurip. v. 157. Electra.

a In Phædone.

Poet

b Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ᾔσθεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν
Ἥκουσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χρόα
Ἐλούσατ'

b Eurip. Alc. v. 116.

When ſhe perceiv'd the day appointed near,
She waſh'd her ſelf in river water clear,

In alluſion to this cuſtome * *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a waſhing one of the pillars of the ruined houſe, when ſhe fancied to ſee.

* apud Eurip.

Ὑδραίνειν αὐτὸν ὡς θανούμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death of that ſon by the waſhing of the pillar. To this waſhing, (it may be) alludes that expreſſion of *Strepſiades* to his ſon in *Ariſtophanis nubibus*,

Ὥσπερ τεθνεῶτος καταλόει μου τὸν βίον.

He caſteth aſperſions upon my life, & waſheth me as if I were dead.

This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in caſe of neceſſity others might ſerve. And therefore in c *Galen* you ſhall find the *Cynicks* themſelves a waſhing poor *Theagenes*, becauſe he had neither wife nor child, nor chick of his own to do it. Having waſhed the body, they anointed it with ointments, and poured *Ambroſia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* ſaies, *Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*,

c De Method. Medendi. l. 13. c. 15.

Χρῖσόν τ' ἀμβροσίῃ

Il. 11.

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment, woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or ſome other friend for the purpoſe: having alſo τὰς κειρίας, bands or lifts of cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withal, ſuch as * *Lazarus* had. *Feralibus amiculis obſtrictus*, ſaies * Apuleius. The colour of the ſhrowd (if my memory fail not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

Homer. Odyſſ.

* John. c. 11. v. 44.

* Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur. De lecto, & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloth'd him with his Winding-ſheet, and his πάλλα: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὁ στέφανος, ὡς τὸν βίον διηγωνισμένοις, ſaies *Suidas*, *as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out*: and with the like ſignification, *I* have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the ſame reaſon: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In alluſion to theſe Garlands, *Euſtathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Son, makes him ſay, πῶς σε καταστεφανώσω τοῖς δάκρυσιν, *how shal I crown thee with my tears?* an example of this practiſe, you may ſee in *Euripides*: where *Talthybius* ſpeaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Aſtyanax*, in the abſence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. Iſm.

—πέπλοισιν ὡς περιστείλαις νεκρὸν
Στεφάνοις θ' ὅσῃ σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

Eur. Troàm. v. 1143.

Artem. l. 1. c. 14.

After they had done this they ſet him on the ground, with his *feet* outward toward the *gate*: as being never to put his foot in the houſe again. Then they took him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὸ κλινίδιον) to be in a readineſſe to be carried to his bed, for ſo *Lycophron* calls the grave εὐναστήριον, as it is likewiſe termed κοιμητήριον, and ſo the dead are called εὕδοντες, and κατακεκοιμημένοι, for death is a long ſleep, as ſleep is a ſhort death. The couch was alſo adorned with Garlands made of all ſorts of Hearbs and Flowers, (as * *Euripides* ſaies) ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φύει βλαστήματα, but eſpecially of Olive, which they uſed in victories. Having thus adorned it, they *placed it*, or *ſet it forth at the doors*, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was,

—ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετραμμένος.

This placing of him they called προτίθεσθαι, *collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alceſtis*.

*In Hel

——ϗ ὀστρακίνον νεκρῶν.

During the πρόθεσις, and all the time till the ἐκφορὰ (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, efferebatur, ἐξεκομίζετο, as S. Luke saith, (whether out of the houſe or the City) there ſtood at the door, a great earthen veſſel filled with water, which they fetcht from another houſe, for the people to waſh in, that came in and out. This veſſel is called by Heſychius [illegible], by Pollux ἀρδάνιον, and by Ariſtophanes ὄστρακον, in that place where he ſpeaks of the λήκυθοι too, that is the Pots for oyntments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewiſe of ſtrewing of Origanum (they ſay it is for good harts origanum tueri) and of Vine-branches, for what uſe I know not, unleſſe it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or elſe to make the Torches of them: for of ſuch ſtuffe Torches were commonly made: as Euſtathius ſaies φανὸς was ὁ ἐκ κληματίδων λαμπάς. And ſo our Poet in Luſiſtrato calls it τ ἀμπέλου φανόν: pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the leſſer pots of oyntment, and the Vine branches together.

*Ὑποστρῶσαι νυν πρῶτα τ ὀριγάνου
Καὶ κλήματ' ὑπόθου συγκλάσασα τέτταρα
Καὶ ταινίωσαι ϗ παράθου τὰς ληκύθους
Ὕδατός τε κατάθου τοὔστρακον πρὸ τ θύρας

Thus I remember in Euripides his Tragedy of Alceſtis (verſe 99) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, because he could not ſee any Spring-water πηγαῖον χέρνιβα (as he calls it, for ſuch it ſhould be) ſtanding at the door as the cuſtome was.

The waſhing it ſelf was called λούσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, like the Iſraelites βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, which we read of in Eccleſiaſticus cap. 34. v. 25. and in Numbers c. 19. v. 11. The Romans uſed Suffitionem, a perfuming of the houſe: for they thought the whole houſe polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And ſo did the Greeks too, as may appear by thoſe words of Helena, and the Poet,

* Eurip.

† C. 7. v. 11.

* In Eccleſ.

Καθαρὰ

a Eurip. Hel. v. 1446.

a Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ' οὐ γὰρ ὤλετο
Ψυχὴν ἀφεὶς Μενέλεως ———
Our house is clean, for *Menelaus* here
Lost not his life ———

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THE best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day, and not in the night. And this I gatherd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune-teller, threatning *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies; who make it an honour for the better sort) saies she

b Id. in Troad. v. 446.

b Κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ νυκτὸς, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

Il. 11.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sun rising,

ἦμος ἠοῖα ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς.

(saies *Homer* in the funeral of *Hector*) *at break of day*, the Corps is mounted, and carried along, most bravely ὥσπερ εἰς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένος (saies * *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a *shew*. Now it was carried (saies the *Scholiast* upon Homer οὐκ ἐπὶ ὀχήματός τινος, ἀλλὰ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. But upon mens shoulders up aloft ἄρδην, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of προσπόλων Servants, (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

** De Luctu.*

a Eurip. Alc. v. 607.

πρόσπολοι
a Φέρουσιν ἄρδην πρὸς τάφον τε, καὶ πυράν.

In the like sense he uses the word φοράδην in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trudg'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slain him.

Τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ὁ θεὸς, ὦ βασιλεῦ
Τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χεροῖν,

Φορά-

[illegible] —

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Spears, and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the Arcadians did at the funerall of *Pallas*.

[illegible]

And it is likely they held those Spears in the [illegible] end too, as [illegible] is wished at the buriall of a Souldier, and as they did them [illegible] (*versis* [illegible] *armis*)

As the Corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernall gods, to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure, for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Pheræ* concerning his Wife,

a [illegible]

[illegible]

Those that accompanied the coarse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they favoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick b person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walk stately before the Corps, and the c Women (but not unlesse they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a [illegible] about her; whatsoever that was.

L l CAP.

a *Eurip. Alc.* 608.

b *Diog. Laert.* *L. l.* 10.

c *Demost. ad Macart.*

CAP. XXIV.

De Miniſterio Funerarum & Siticinum.

TO ſet forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had a [illegible], and the Romans *Præficas*: ſo they alſo had their ſinging Women of purpoſe to lead the dance, θρηνῳδοὺς, or θρήνων ἐξάρχους, as *Homer calls them; or μυρολόγους as *Nonnus*. And ſince vocal Muſick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife ſhould be ſo ſtrict againſt any Inſtrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

a See Jerem. c. 9. v. 17.

* Il. Ω.

Αὐλῶν δὲ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
*Ἔστω [illegible]

Eurip. Alc. v. 430.

Eſpecially conſidering the virtue ſuppoſed to be in it, as all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoq; ad ſepulturam proſequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum inſtituta ſanxerunt, perſuaſione hac, quia poſt corpus anima ad originem dulcedinis muſicæ, id eſt, ad cœlum redire creditur*. Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not ſing [illegible], in ſuch times of mourning, becauſe it was an inſtrument conſecrated to the ſervice of *Apollo*, for *Pæan's*, and ſuch merry ſongs (as the reaſon is given upon the Scholiaſt upon these words of the Poet in his *Phœniſſæ*, [illegible]) But for the *Pipe*, I never knew but that they might ſing πρὸς αὐλὸν, for elſe why were there συμβαῦλαι *Pipers* among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them τὸ κόσμιον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the coarſe; ſuch as *Admetus* in a *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company beſides had given before.

a In Alc. v. 630

Κόσμον δὲ τὸν σὸν, οὔποθ' ἥδ' ἐνδύσεται, I have ſome cauſe to think that ſome of thoſe *κόσμους* which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceaſed; for ſuch they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. And if ſo, that thoſe *νερτέρων ἀγάλματα* * (neer the place above quoted) ſaid to be carried by thoſe which followed the corps, may be cenſured *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it muſt needs be *grata munera*, it muſt be meant to the *gods* of the dead, and to the *dead* themſelves.

But yet after all this, you may do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceaſed: for ſuch as had more age had more honour then others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alceſtis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger ſort, he replyed, by no means; for

> *Κἂν γραῦς ὄληται, πλουσίως ταφήσεται.*
> If old ſhe die ſhe will be richly buried.

And here, becauſe I have ſuch an occaſion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the cuſtoms uſed in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and firſt, of the cutting of the hair.

* Ib. v. 612.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occaſion of ſorrow and *baldneſſe* (as the *Hebrews* ſay) uſed to cut their hair ἐν χρῷ (as they calld it) or to ſhave it cloſe to the skin. For ſo much may be gathered by thoſe words of *Lyſias* (cited by *Ariſtotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his ſpeech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the

* L. 3. c. 10.

[illegible] at Salamis, ſaith he, [illegible] *had been no leſſe then deſert, if all Greece had been ſhaved at the burial of thoſe gallant ſoldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this ſuffice not, you may take the teſtimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the *[illegible]* to do the like.

[illegible]

[illegible]

And he himſelf when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourned for after this manner, by no worſe man then *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this cuſtome, *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comana*, [illegible] the) *mourning there* [illegible] in that place by *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*. So you ſhall meet with the like practiſe of *Tellus* in the behalf of *Phaethon*, and of *Bacchus* the god, (as *intonſus* as he was) for the loſſe of his wife. Nay you ſhall find *Job* himſelf at this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And

a c. 7. v. 29. in the Prophecy of [a]*Jeremy* you may read, *Cut off thy hair, and caſt it away, and take up a lamentation.* 'Tis true, they were to

b Tuſc. Q. l. 3. be blamed for theſe follies, and in [b]*Cicero* you ſhall meet with a ſaying of *Bion* himſelf, deriding the uſe of this cuſtome in *Agamemnon*. *Perinde ſtultiſſimum Regem in luctu capillum ſibi evellere, quaſi calvitio mæror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former loſſe of his friends, with another of his hair. What if it be objected to all this, (which we confeſſe to be true too) that it was a cuſtome to cut the hair in token of joy? For firſt among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you ſhall find *Joſeph* cutting his hair, when he came out of Priſon; and *Jonathans* Son, when he met with *David* for joy doing the like. Nay the action of *Job* it ſelf, is by *Origen* (the allegorical Interpreter) thought to have been an expreſſion not of ſorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience under his affliction. 2ly, Among the Romans, you know, their *ſqualid Priſoners* let their hair hang down long, that they might look the more *dejected*, and ſo move the Judges to pitty when they came to be tryed.

a *Aſpice demiſſos lugentis more capillos.*

Whereas after their abſolution or releaſement, they preſently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epiſtles interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from ſome eminent danger. And laſt of all for your Greeks themſelves; that they let their hair grow long in times of ſadneſs, may appear by that of *Lycophron*:

[illegible]

[illegible]

And that they cut it in times of *joy*, will be out of queſtion, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who ſaies that [illegible] *the word for rejoycing comes from the word which they uſe for cutting the hair.* To reconcile theſe things, perhaps it may ſuffice to ſay, That cutting their hair ſhorter by way of a κῆπος, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy; but *ſhaving* it cloſe, even to *baldneſſe*, of ſorrow and dejection; as among the Jews, *weeping*, and *mourning*, and *baldneſſe* were joyned together. I know there are ſome, that think to reconcile all, by ſaying as *Plutarch* ſaies (in *Romanis*) [illegible] *that the women expreſſed their ſorrow by cutting their hair, and the men by letting it grow.* Which may be likely enough, becauſe in ſorrow, people out of a dejected careleſneſſe, love to appear as unhandſome as may be, and contrary to the uſuall faſhion: now it was accounted a handſome thing (and ſo it was the faſhion too) among the Greeks, for Women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it ſhort. But how is it then that in b *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair?

Capillus paſſus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter;

a *Ovid. In Epiſt.*

Iſai.c.22.v.12.

b *In Heaut.* Act. 2.51.3.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

When any diſaſter befell ſuch as were neer of kin them, οὐδερμιτὶν, &c. it being a time for ſadneſs, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a propeſty to make men *glad)* and confined themſelves to that which the Scholiaſt calls *ἀλφίτων κυκεῶνα*, a *Barly-maſh,* (Ale, its like.) But ſorrow muſt be more than negative: and therefore, Firſt, they uſed to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of the Hebrews, and ſometimes to fling their Vails in the fire, (not in healths, but in ſobs and ſighs) as it is in *Rheſus.*

Eurip.

Κὰ συμπτυχθεῖσαι μυελὸν πέπλων χλιδὴν,

Ovid. Met. l. 8. fab. 9.

2 To throw their faces in the duſt, or the duſt in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultuſq; ſeniles
Fœdat humi fuſos ——

Or ſometimes aſhes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes.*

Eurip. Suppl. v. 826.

—— ἀμφὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸν
[illegible] :——

Smyrnaus. β.

3 Κόπτεσθαι (which is uſed for πενθεῖν) to beat their breſts and their thighs, and cut and tear their fleſh like a Jew: as one ſits

* In Hel.

* ἀμύσσουσα χερσὶ παρῆδα.

Making ſtreaks and *furrows* with their nails in their face (as *Euripides* uſes the word αὐλακίζειν.

—— ὄνυξιν αὐλακιζομένα)

b In Avib.

4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἒ, ἒ, ἒ, ἒ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon b *Ariſtophanes)* comes the word ἔλεγος to be uſed

ſed for a ſong of lamentation *viz.* ἀπὸ τῦ λέγειν ἒ.

But at a Funeral, ſo immoderate were they (eſpecially the Women) in theſe and the like expreſſions of Sorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpoſe to reſtrain them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergô habento, Let no Women,* &c. Their cuſtoms they uſed at ſuch times were theſe. First, when they came forth of the houſe (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the [a] *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practiſe, where he ſhews how it could hardly be believed, that *Alceſtis* was indeed buried, as they ſaid ſhe was, because neither the pot of holy-water, nor ſo much as a lock of hair could be ſeen at the door, as they were wont to be.

Cicero De Legib.

Χαίτα τ' οὔτις ἐπὶ προθύροις τομαῖ-
-ος, ἃ δὴ νεκύων πένθεσι πιτνεῖ.

2 As they went along with the corps they kept their head cloſe covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Oreſtes,* when he bid *Electra leave* mourning, ſaies he

—— ἀνακαλύπτου ὦ κασίγνητον κάρα,
Ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀπαλλάχθ' ——
Be uncoverd, &c.

See Eſther, c. 6. v. 12. and Jerem. c. 14. v. 3.

In like manner *Theſeus* (as it is in another [b] Tragedy of the ſame Poet,) when *Adraſtus* came to petition his help κατήρης χλανιδίοις, all be-mufled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, ſaid to him

Λέγ' ἐκκαλύψας κρᾶτα, καὶ πάρες γόον.

They uſed likewiſe to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So [c] *Helen* ſaies of the Trojans

Κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ χέρας ἔθεσαν.

3 Their manner of *going,* was to tread as ſoftly as they could with their feet, and make no noyſe with their tongues (I mean the reſt of the company, and not thoſe which they got for the purpoſe to weep)

Σῖγα, σῖγα λεπτὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
Τίθετε, μὴ κτυπεῖτε, μηδ' ἔστω κτύπος.

Saies

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[a] Eurip. Alc. v. 100.

[b] In Suppl. v. 110.

[c] Id. Hel. v. 376.

a 1. c. 21. v. 27. Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of a Kings tis ſaid that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth [illegible] and *went ſoftly*, and ſo b *Iſaiah* ſaies, *I ſhall go ſoftly all my years in the bitterneſſe of my ſoul*; though I know ſome tranſlations render it otherwiſe.
b c. 38. v. 15.

4. When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to end the Mourning firſt, and then to come to the reſt) they would cut off all the beſt locks of their hair, ([illegible]) and lay them on the grave, or caſt them into the fire. And this they called [illegible] and [illegible] (as it is in *Ariſtophanes*) or [illegible] (as in *Æſchylus*) or [illegible] (as in *Sophocles*) or [illegible] (as it is every where.) All their *beſt Locks* I ſaid; for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *Helen* for dealing [illegible] *deceitfully*, and hiding the beſt of her hair to ſave it, at the burial of *Clytemneſtra*, for indeed [illegible], *they ſhould cut it all*, ſaith the Scholiaſt upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reaſon or two for the action, *viz.* 1 firſt, to make them ſeem ſquallid, careleſſe, and contemptible; whereas locks Ἀγλ[illegible] καλλωπισμ[illegible], *are uſed for ornament, and ſpruceneſſe*, as being [illegible] (as I may ſay) the *Luxury of the hair*. Then, tis known that the Greeks were [illegible], and uſed to wear their hair long οὐ μόνον εἰς κάλλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερὸν, ſaies the c Scholiaſt, both to *pleaſe their friends and affright their enemies*. Nay they took ſuch a *pride* in having it ſo, (calling themſelves ἀκερσεκόμας, and ſuch as cut it too ſhort [illegible]) that κομᾶν, ſignifying to wear hair long, has been uſed to ſignify to be d *proud*.

c Il. β.

d Il. [illegible].

2. Ἵνα διὰ τούτων [illegible] ἵλεως αὐτοῖς [illegible], *to get the good will of the deceaſed party, and the Manes*. Some again ſay it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foſter-father, or Mother, by way of thanks for their education, and ſo they call'd it θρεπτήρια ποιεῖν, ἀντιαποδοῦναι τὰς ἀνατροφάς. But why then ſhould e *Hercules* do it to *Soſtratus* he who was but his *Ganimede*. Laſt of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the

e *Pauſan.*

the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the ſpace of eleven daies) the Women were not to wear any * Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at firſt were but one thing, *viz.* * Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνον ἅψαι ἐν πένθει οὐ θέμις, ſaith an old Gloſſe, and to this cuſtome ſome do refer that in the Satyriſt.

Pullati proceres. &c.
— — tunc odimus ignem.

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *palæſtræ*, and *gymnaſia*, muſt be ſhut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themſelves. But it is time to return to the Corps, and ſee it buried as ſoon as I can for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.) ——

* *Lycophr.*

* *Vid. Suid.* in φρυκτὸς & *Heſych.* in Δαλὸς,

Juven. Sat. 3.

CAP. XXVII.

De via per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco ſepulturæ.

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called * Ἠρίαι, ſo called becauſe they led to the ἠρία, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of burial.* This gate is ſometimes called * Ἱερὰς πύλας, a *Sacræ Portæ* whether in oppoſition to the ἀραῖαι θύραι (in *Plutarch*) or the χαρώνειος θύρα (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phraſe, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefactors; I am yet to ſeek: for Malefactors were to ſuffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It ſeems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike unclean, and ſo took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

a *Theoph.*

π. Αραιδ.

* ε. *Pollux.*

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King, or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, to ſhew that he might not be a *Mountain* * for ever) according to that in *Lycophron.*

* *Kings and Princes are ſo called in Scrip.* as Iſaiah, 41. 15. &c.

Τεσαρὸς δὲ ταρχύσουσι Κερχοῖμι γλωτι

a Æn. 11. Or that of a *Virgil.*

——fuit ingens Monte ſub alto
Regis Dercem terreno ex aggere buſtum.

* Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom.

* *Aurelius* ſaies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *Sepultus circa radices Montis cui ex ſe nomen dedit*, unleſſe you will ſay that thoſe *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger ſize, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive*: and ſo the hills muſt be made by the buryer, as * *Lucan* ſaies

* L. 8.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quieſcant.

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it was no higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

——ὑπὸ κεύθμασι γαίης
Βοῦς πολυκωκύτους εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους.

'Tis true, that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may ſay) appointed for the purpoſe, called by the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ μ̃ ἐντὸς ἔξω δ̓ πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Ariſtophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burialls* or the *Buryes*. That burial place within (otherwiſe called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thucydides*) was for thoſe that made an honourable end in the Field for the good of the *Common-wealth*: the manner whereof I ſhall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral fields, and encloſures. And therefore we ſhall read that ſometimes close to the Gates, ſometimes by the way ſides, according to that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*.

* In Rheſ. v. 880.

——νεκροὺς
Θάψειν κελεύσω λαοφόρους πρὸς ἐκτροπάς.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOW for the uſage of the bodies: when they came to the place of buriall, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*, τὸ παλαιὸν τὰ σώματα τεθνηκότων πυρὶ ἐκαίετο διὰ τὸ ἀσθενῆ γίνεσθαι, εἶθ' οὕτως ἐθάπτετο ὑπὸ γῆν, the cuſtome was at firſt to burn them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi ſe igni luſtraverit petere ſedes inter aſtra.* And the reaſon was, ſaies that Scholiaſt, *becauſe by this means the body might preſently conſume all away to nothing.* But that cuſtome (I know not for what reaſon) was not ſo well liked by other people. Inſomuch that the *Magi* among the * *Perſians*, thought it ἀνοσιώτατον *a thing moſt prophane* (I fear me more for the *Fire* then any thing elſe.) and therefore at length it came to be leſſe uſed, ſo as ſometimes they would burn them, and ſometimes only cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no neceſſity that τύμβος *a Grave*, ſhould come from τύφεσθαι, τουτέστι καίεσθαι, *to burn*, as the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, buriall by burning, was ſtill eſteemed the more honourable and ſtately way of the two: as may appear by their unwillingneſſe to have it common, for they denied the uſe of it, Firſt to Infants. 2 To ſuch as kild themſelves. 3 To ſuch as were killed with Lightning or *Fulguritis, ſtruck with the Planet* (as we ſay) who were to be buried there where they dyed, or at leaſt in ſome peculiar place apart, as we do thoſe that Hang themſelves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* ſtoned to death, as he was ſcaling the walls (a thing invented by him as ſome report) becauſe they imagined him to have been ſhot to death by *Jupiter*, muſt needs be buried χωρὶς *ſeorſum*, ſo *Adraſtus* ſaies in *Euripides*

* Diog. *Laert*; *l.* 10.

Ἠχωρὶς

[illegible]

And lastly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to bestow any buriall at all. Insomuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnesia*, the Athenians in time of a Pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could by no means be permitted by the Magistrates to do it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country, and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funerall, as the fashion was (as I may say) *in his picture*, having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from Hector, who in the time of the siege of Troy, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himself, adding withall

[illegible] οὐδέ νυ τόν γε

Γνωτοί τε γνωταί τε πυρὸς λελάχωσι θανόντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. [illegible] *Hence came the Law, &c.* But I must tell you after all this, that however *burning* and *burying* are so neer in their sounds they have been far enough distant in their being; at least in some Countries. For at Rome it was not used in *Macrobius* his time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued only upon dislike, then not to have been begun when it was not used. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purify, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, [illegible] *O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* The first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*. Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send his son *Argius* to help him in the war with *Laomedon* for the horſes, engaged himſelf by an oath, to ſee him home ſafe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, *σοφιζόμενος αὐτὸν putting a fallacy upon him*, as if he had his ſon indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he uſed him better then *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus*, did *Menelaus*, who having promiſed him fifty ſhips with men, ſent him but one true ſhip, and poped him along with ſhips and men made of clay for the reſt. The ſtory is likely enough, but he that told me ſaid he did not believe it, and * therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reaſon or two of the uſe of the cuſtome, either becauſe *πᾶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, every dead thing is impure* and ſo it did need to be purified: and the rather by fire, becauſe it was commonly uſed to ſuch a purpoſe, as being *ἁγνιστικὸν*, able to make things pure and chaſt which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abaſements and alloys: Whence *Euripides* ſaies of *Clytemneſtra's* body *πυρὶ καθαγνισθεῖσαν*. Or elſe to ſhew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a Coach to be joyned in ſociety with the gods above, *τὸ μὲν θεῖον* [illegible] (how neer this goes to expreſſe the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) [illegible]. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles wings*: as I ſhall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is ſaid *ἀναστοιχειωθῆναι, to be made again* by the fire, and ſo to become [illegible] *ἀθάνατος*, as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophiſters of India (*γυμνοσοφισταὶ*) uſed to burn themſelves into that * immortality, which they deſired of *Alexander*, when he put them to ask what they would.

* χ. Hom. Il. A.

Ib. χ.

* *Cic. Tuſc. Q.* L. 5.

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, ſive comburendi corporis. De loculis & reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood; and having laid the corps on the top, to ſet it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he ſpeaks of *Hector*.

Il. ω. ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτῃ νεκρὸν θέσαν ἐν δ' ἔβαλον πῦρ.

The wood was not alwaies of one ſort. But ſometimes Oake: as in * *Euripides*, where you ſhall read of κορμοὺς δρυὸς *Oaken billets*, at the funerall of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in a *Sophocles*. And ſometimes Pine, as in b *Athenæus*: unleſſe ſhall I ſay, that he confined the uſe of it to the buriall of Virgins. If the party had loſt his life in ſhipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ſhip,

* Herc. Fur. v. 241.
a In Trach.
b L. 15.

Manilius l. 4. —— *ut corpus ſepeliret naufragus ignis*
Et collecta rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ.

Thus to burn the bodies they called it πυρῶν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it ſelf πυρὰν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners ſtood round about the Bonefire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for ſo *Achilles* in *Homer* is ſaid to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burn the better. Not to put the carcaſs (ſurely) but themſelves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very ſtrong wind juſt at that time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was Κῆρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that ſhould offer to meddle with the bones. *Oſſa ne legito*, ſaies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine.* And after that τὴν τέφραν σὺν τοῖς ὀστοῖς ἐχώννυον, * they ſwept up the aſhes together in a heap. The bones they took and waſhed them in water

* Il. ψ.

brought in χύτραις pots for the purpoſe, by the ἐγχυτρίστριαις, (Women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and ſuch other things as they uſed in the χοαί) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrapped them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they called θήκην, or πύελον, or σορὸν.

* Etym. Mag.

* Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀστέα νῶϊν ὁμὴ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτοι.

* Il. ψ.

The veſſel, whatſoever it was, is in *Lychophron* called κρωσσὸς as if it were a Pot: and in *Moſchus* χρύσειος κρωσσὸς, as if it were wont to be *gilded*. And in * *Plutarch* λίθινος σορὸς, as if it were wont to be ſtone, methinks it may be called a coffin,-for I read it was uſually made of Wood, *viz.* of Cedar, which is longeſt a rotting, and is therefore called νεκρῶν ζωὴ, *the life of the dead.* Indeed whether it were ordinary to have ſuch coffins, or only for thoſe that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of purpoſe under ground to ſet them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was ſuch a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κέδροις, uſed ſometimes for the cheſt it ſelf does ſeem to declare in thoſe words of *Admetus* deſiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too.

Idyl. 4.
* In Numa.

*Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ μ' ἐπισκήψω κέδροις
Σοὶ τούσδε θεῖναι πλευράς.——

*Eurip. Alc. v. 365.

A wiſh not unreaſonable; ſeeing the thing deſired was ſo uſual both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St. *Auſtins* own Mother was of the ſame mind: for why?

Quos certus amor quos hora noviſſima junxit
Componi tumulo non invideatis eodem.

Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 2.

The Athenians indeed ſeldome put above one mans bones in the ſame coffin: but the *Megarenſes* many times four, ſaies *Pauſanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire *left*, were called λείψανα or *Reliques*: And they were thus kept ſaith the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*, μήπως οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c. leaſt they ſhould be expoſed to the rage of *too deadly* enemies. If the party were burnt in a forraigne Countrey, his bones or his aſhes were carried home in the coffin, and pompouſly ſhewed and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid.*

Oſſa tamen facito parva referantur in Urna
Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

When they came where there were croſſe waies, thoſe that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feaſts, θεῶν * ἀγυιάων ἑορταὶ αἱ γινόμεναι [illegible] τοῖς νεκροῖς. After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very ſuperſtitiouſly uſed by all nations) to make his appearance.

* Vetus Gloſſ.

Virgil.

——*Magna manes ter voce vocavi.* (but of this already) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the reſt of the family, only ſuch as proved a unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of ἀπότυμβοι.

a Diog. La.
* Harpocr.

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THE cuſtomes uſed in a *cold* buriall were theſe. (and ſome of them uſed at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the ſpeeches, and the playes) The peculiar place of buriall was uſuall choſen before they died, and markt with a black ſtone. And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, σῆς ὀρθὸν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέως τάφου, &c. ſaies *Ulyſſes* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*) agreeable whereto, is that phraſe of the ſame Poet in another place [illegible] and the Latine word *Tumulus* a *heap* or a *grave.* But (I think) for the better ſort, they made it higher, and a little handſomer, with ſtones, ſomewhat after the faſhion of our Tombs. For ſo *Theſeus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* ſhould honour his Corps ——Λαΐνοισιν ἐξογκώμασι. Whether earth or ſtones: it ſeems they deſired to have it poliſhed, as neat as might be, ſaſt and ſmooth.

[a]Τύμβον κατόψει ξεστόν, saies the same Poet in *Alcestis*, and in *Helena* —[b]ξεστοῦ τάφου. The posture which the body usually had in the grave, was with the face towards the East saies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*; towards the West, saies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the stone which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of the party deceased, which they described commonly in verse. *Plato* was for just four Heroick verses and no more. Such Epitaphs they called γνωρίσματα, because they made *known* the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias*, because they made them *remembred*. And therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, (saies *Justin*) used to tye a *ticket*, or a *note*, about their wrists, to certifie of what condition they were; that in case they should dye in the fields, they might have a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to Sacrifice, and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis*. Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* used for *Alcestis*.

—κοῦφα σοι
Χθὼν ἐπάνω πέσοι, γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked[c] fellow, or a [d]Coward, so they thought it too little to be denyed to another: and this made *Menelaus* to fear so little to dye, for saies he

[e]εἰ γ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοὶ
Εὔψυχον ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὕπο
Κούφῃ καταμπίσχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονὶ,
Κακοὺς δ' ἐφ' ἕρμα στερεὸν ἐκβάλλουσι γῆς.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THE manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ᾅδης or ᾅδου, is a place

[a] *Ib.* v.836.

[b] *Ib.* v.992.

[c] *V.* 462.

[d] Κακός.

[e] *Eurip. Hele* v.857.

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (ἐσχάραν) (pe chance to get the neerer to them) according to that practiſe Ovid.

Met. l. 7.

Haud procul egeſtâ ſcrobibus tellure duabus
Sacra facit.

Odyſſ. 11. * Æn. 6. The Victime then ſlain, was either a barren Cow, as * H ſaies ——στεῖραν βοῦν, ἥτις ἀρίστη. And *Virgil*,

——*Sterilemque tibi Proſerpina, vaccam.*

Or elſe a black ſheep, ſuch as the old fellow ſaw ſlain at the grave of *Agamemnon*.

*Eurip. Electr. v. 513.

* Πυρᾶς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς οἶν μελάγχιμον πόκῳ
Σφάγιον ἐσεῖδον——

a In Oedip. v. 556. And ſuch as *Seneca* ſpeaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere, &c.* the reaſon why they made choyce of this colour, was either cauſe it ſuited beſt with *mourning*: or becauſe it was to *black gods* of the *dark*. For as *Arnobius* ſaies, *Diis lævis habitantibus inferas color furvus eſt gratior*. Afterwards roſe to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon*. Whether were *S*heep or Bullock, or Hog; as it was beſt, if it were ſpayd or a barren female: ſo it might not be Ram Bull, nor Boar, &c. τὰ μὴ γεννῶντα ζῶα, or ὄντα ἀσπόρα, ὅσα μὴ ὄρχεις ἔχει, ſaies the Scholiaſt; and that for the reaſon (as he ſaith) for which at the ſame time they ed down both their haire, and the Briſtle-haire of the which grew upon his fore-head. Ἀπάρχεται, viz. ὡς ἄψυχον τὸ ζῷον ἀφοσιούμενοι, that they might not give the *dead*, either that which had life in it ſelf, or that which could beget it another thing. Thoſe *ſetæ*, or briſtle-haires, are in a pecul manner termed ἀπαρχαὶ, and the offering thereof, ἀπάρχε as in theſe words.

L. 7.

Plut. in Sol.

Hom. Il. 4.

Il. Ξ.

——ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν
Ἀργιόδοντος ὑός——

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

Et ſummas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus impoſuit——

Ye

Yet not only the beaſt which they *ſlew*; but all the reſt which they ſuffered to live, in the time of a publick funeral, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practiſe of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horſes and Bullocks, and all, at the funeral of *Maſiſtius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephaſtion* dealt with the Horſes and the Mules, and the walls themſelves of the Town of *Ecbatane* περικείρας (as *Ælian* has it) *ſhaving* them ἐν χρῷ *cloſe to the ground*. And, I remember, in [a] *Euripides*, *Admetus* deſiring to celebrate his Wifes funeral in the beſt manner that might be, gives order for the Corch-horſes manes to be all cut.

——ϗ μονάμπυκας

Πώλους σιδήρῳ τέμνετ' αὐχένων φόβην.

Then beſides the victime they had τὰς χοὰς *Libationes*, which are uſually μελίκρατον, hony and milk and wine; to which they added Cakes, if the Tranſlator render it aright

——ἐμπύρους ἀθυσάλτους. In [b] *Euripides*, the manner of uſing theſe liquors, was firſt to go round about the grave, and poure out ſome, as they went, out of the bottle (as he [c] ſaies ἀσκοῦ ἄπο) and then to ſtand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* ſaies κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας, &c. As they offered they uſed certain ſpeeches to the party deceaſed, ſuch as that was

Ἐλάβετο' ἀδελφῇ τῆς δὲ δωρεῖται χοάς.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghoſts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore thoſe χοαὶ, were uſually termed ἱλαστήριαι, and θελκτήριαι, and κηλητήριοι: Χοαί; and they made choiſe of the moſt proper liquors, for to ſweeten and ſupple them. Such a prayer is that in *Euripides* to the ghoſt of *Achilles*, Ὦ παῖ Πηλέως, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, δέξαι χοάς μοι τὰς δὲ κηλητηρίους νεκρῶν ἀγωγοὺς, &c.

Thoſe Sacrificing offices were eſpecially to be performed by the Kindred too (as moſt of the reſt were) and therefore *Caſſandra* ſetting forth the ſad condition of the Leagures at *Troy*, and their friends at home, ſaies ſhe, *Their Parents be-*

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[a] In Alceſt. v. 429.

[b] Hel. v. 534.

Id. in Elect. v. 530.

ing thus bereft of their children in the Siege.

— ἡ δ' ἀμοιβὰ τύμβου
[illegible]
— no body have
To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEſides all this, there muſt be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the herſe and the corps: And this action they called στεφανοῦν τὸν τύμβον, and the Garlands themſelves [illegible] and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only ἐρανισμένους, made of a *Collation*, or a *Collection* of all ſorts of flowers gathered together, but alſo made to be thrown ἐπὶ τὴν ἔραν, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made thoſe Garlands of nothing but the flower πόθος, (ſaith [a] *Athenæus*:) and then the Garlands were called πόθοι too. And it may be ſometimes of σέλινον or *Apium* as I have occaſion to think from that ſtory of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, becauſe of the uſe which they knew to be made of that hearb in funerals (whence the proverb of one that is deſperately ſick δεῖται σελίνου, *that he needs Apium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *No, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is uſe of the hearb, when a man has won the beſt at a fight, as well as when death hath given him the worſt.* The firſt beginning of this cuſtome, is by *Philoſtratus (in Heroicis)* attributed to the *Theſſali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reaſon of it, ſaies [b] *Clemens*, was to expreſſe the quiet *condition* of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀοχλήτου ἀμεριμνίας ὁ στέφανος σύμβολον. But I rather think

[a] Li. 14. c. 5.

[b] Pedag. l. 2. c. 8.

think with the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ μακαρίζειν τῶν νικώντων, to honour the dead as they uſe to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the ſame reaſon, doubtleſſe, was it that they did φυλλοβολεῖν (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* ſaies, they did to *Polyxena*, when ſhe dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won a race or the like, they had a cuſtome to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old fellow in [a] *Euripides* with Myrtle.

——τύμβῳ δ' ἀμφέθηκα μυρσίνας.

Whether was there any alluſion therein to the *golden-bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. It ſeems that in *Italy* they had the ſame cuſtomes. For ſaies [b] *Varro*, *ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they *carried leaves to caſt upon the and trees*. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear by thoſe words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam ſepulchris denegatis*, &c. nay *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, ſaies my Author, they came to wool at laſt, when they had more to ſpare.

[a] *Electr.* v. 512.

Æn. 6.

[b] *L.* 6. *de L. L.*

CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis, de Oratione, & Ludis funeribus. & de Aquilis.

EIther upon, or cloſe by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar ſometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of ſomewhat elſe to reſemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Iſocrates* with the Image of a *Siren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over conſtant love to his wife; when he would get the Image [illegible]

Image curiouſly made, and have it lye in the bed with him i her place, for ſo he tells her.

Σοφῇ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν
Εἰκασθὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκταθήσεται.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private diſcourſe at home at the feaſt, or by a publique ſpeech in the *Ceramicus.* Which ſpeech, if the party dyed in a battel, was to be made by one appointed by the Magiſtrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every year after: as *Cicero* ſaies, *in Populari oratione mos eſt Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio ſint interfecti: quæ ſic probata eſt, ut eam quotannis, u ſcis, illâ die recitari neceſſe ſit.*

Lib. de Orat.

The firſt that began this cuſtome of making ſpeeches, ſome ſay was *Pericles,* who made one upon the death of thoſe that w ſlain in the *Peloponneſian* war; and ſome, *Solon.* But beſide funeral-ſpeeches, they had funeral-*playes* too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφι both the Play and the Feaſt, commonly go under the name o τάφος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company o fopperies, practiſed by the unhappy people of thoſe times, even in burialls, when they ſhould have more wit: what will you ſay, if I have that yet left, which will pleaſe you all as much, *viz.* That even they themſelves for the moſt part, eſteemed thoſe practiſes, both unprofitable to the dead, and vain and fooliſh in the living, as may appeare in the words of *Hecub* her ſelf, or the * Poet for her.

* Eurip. Troad. v. 1247.

Δοκῶ δὲ τοῖς θανοῦσι διαφέρειν βραχύ.
Εἰ πλουσίων τις τεύξεται κτερισμάτων
Κενὸν δὲ γαύρωμ᾽ ἐστὶ τῶν ζώντων τόδε.
I think it boots the dead the leaſt of all,
How rich or poor they have the funeral,
'Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

Having thus diſpoſed of the body, they returned home. Fo the Soule they take no care, unleſſe it were a King or a

Prince, whoſe ſoules they imagined ὀχεῖσθαι to be carried into heaven upon *Eagels wings*: and therefore was it, that they were * wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagels. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they uſed to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* αἰετὸν an Eagle, becauſe he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach.

Artemid. l. 2. c. 20.

CAP. XXXIV.

De Luſtratione Domus funeſtæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging and *Luſtrating* the *houſe* with brimſtone; and *themſelves*, by going through the fire, or ſome other luſtration; for there were ſeverall ſorts thereof, and if I have leaſure, I may chance to ſpeak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, tis ſaid they did to the Kings houſe, who was ſlain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a basket, and dipping the δαλὸν in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἱερὰ μὲν ἦν πάροιθ' ἐσχάρας Διὸς
Καθάρσι' οἴκων.

Eurip. Herc. F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feaſt, τὸ περίδειπνον *Silicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with ſome of us. Thoſe that were at it, wore Garlands: as *Cicero* ſaies, *quas inibant parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparel was white: *& quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, ſaies * *Cicero*, But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son * So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alceſtis*, ἐν μελανοπέπλῳ στολῇ, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* [illegible] in a *sky coloured gown*. Perchance they wore black no longer then till it came to the feaſt. This feaſt they renewed again, not only nine daies after, when they called it ἔνατα, and thirty daies after, when they called it τριακάδας (when they

Odyſſ. 17.

* In Vatinium.

Il. 24.

* Alc. v. 427.

they ſacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their ſoul the *fields*) but alſo upon the day of his death ever after; calling it *νεκύσια*, and upon the day of his birth calling it Γεν. The common name for all theſe feaſts, or the common feſtiv for all the infernal rites, and for all perſons, was Νεμέσια, uſually kept in the Moneth of *Anthesterion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Moneth of *February*, *in quibus parenta bantur manibus mortuorum*, when the Kindred eſpecially (*parens*) did ſacrifice both to the earth, and the gods under it, and the ghoſts of their Parents, or their Anceſtors abo it.

Of all theſe Funerall rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the perſon deceaſed, might be ſuffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chryſoth* forbidding her to ſacrifice,

Οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρᾶς ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἱστάναι
Κτερίσματα ——

Not ſo much as come neer the grave, as *Ulyſſes* in *Sopho* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay ſuch was *Sepulchralis ſanctitas*, (ſaies *Tully*) that no *ſtranger* might be ſuffered to do it, for fear he *might* be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was alrea made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mou* of death, (for ſo * *Homer* calls the grave) to be *gnawn* lik a *ſheep*, by the never ſatisfied teeth of hungry שאול. For βεβρωμένος; he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly ſaid to be devoured, as wh is devoured and incloſed in the ſtomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly ſaid to be buried τυμβεύεσθαι. For ſo the *Vultures* are called * τάφοι ἔμψυχοι, *living graves*: nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themſelves, ſome of whom, even *their mouths are open ſepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. As th of

* Il. 9.
Pſal. 49. 14.

* Hermog.

of *Tereus* when he eat his Sonne.

——*Sic* [illegible]

[illegible] when he did the like. [illegible] being buried, and [illegible] devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as [illegible] saies) *Saturn* was thought to have been said to have eaten his sons, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be help't: these great eaters Death and the Grave are all mouth, and no ears, like the belly. There's no ſtopping nor filling their mouth. [illegible] *βωμὸς*, ſaies *Æſchylus*, *Pluto has no Altars.* He is inexorable, and therefore called *ἄσπονδος θεὸς* in *Euripides*. Neither (ſaies a * Scholiaſt) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not wherefore. Let us ſee therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone.

L. 1, c. 13.

* On Hom. Il.

His Wife, if ſhe ſeemed to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, leaſt ſhe might be cunningly perſwaded to marry with whom ſhe ſhould not: and if any man offered to wrong her, the puniſhment was arbitrary. The children were committed *ἐπιτρόπῳ* to a *Tutor*. He that was [illegible], to be overſeer or Guardian, was either not to be of kin at all; or elſe ſo far off, that if the child ſhould happen to die in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way ſoever it were, he was [illegible] (ſaies *Æſchines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old: and then either they themſelves, or any [illegible] would, might ſue out *δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς*, a writ *Male* [illegible] *Tutela*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this [illegible] be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB. VI.

SECTIO. I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus ſacris De aſylis & aris.

HAving taken this care to ſee the Marriag himſelf, the Education of his children, the honourable Burial of his Body, it expected, that now I ſay ſomewhat in com dation of his conditions, and concerning manner of Life, either towards the gods towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, becauſe has been ſomething already done in that kind, I ſhall not ſo largely; only a word or two, or more of the cuſtoms uſe *Supplication* to, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I ſh proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in king merry with his equals, and giving to the Poor; or

Enemi

[illegible] in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the variety of subjects, you have divided into these several Sections, the first of Supplication called by them [illegible].

The person of a distressed Supplicant (as an abused slave [illegible]) whether he addressed himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be lookt upon as sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from [illegible] Vocal Forrest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*.

> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]

So if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed [illegible], none might touch him upon pain of exilement. And therefore is it that *Polidorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he, —[illegible] *The Altars are not far off.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, what (saies he) *dost Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder that *they* thus fled to Altars, or that *others* feared to meddle with, or to stir any body near them: viz. because they thought the blood would be upon them that should do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in [illegible]. For so the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creusa, the Law forbids* [illegible] *to be put to death*, *True* (saies she) [illegible] *by the same Law*. *No matter* (replies the Chorus) [illegible] *thee there.*

> [illegible]
> Thy blood shall be upon him.

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing Malefactors thus protected from the *Law*, and consequently encouraged to the *transgression*, were bold to complain of the injustice [illegible], as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

> [illegible]
> Ἔθηκαν ὁ θεοῖς, οὐδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς

a Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

b Ib. v. 1258.

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

I said before, *such or such*: because 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only six, viz. *Misericordiæ*, *Minervæ*, *Eumenidum*, *Mercurii* and two of *Theseus* Temples, one within, and another without the Walls. The first of these some say was the first *Asylum* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preserve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius* in *Æn.* 8. *Postquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus tim te, insidias eorum quos avus afflixerat Athenis sibi primi Asylum, hoc est, templum misericordiæ collocarunt, unde nullus posset duci.* An example imitated by other people, almost in every Country. For they thought that otherwise a beast had a condition than a man, [illegible]. But is he now safe for ever? yes, unlesse they make a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to do Eeles, And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to do.

In Rud. Act. 3. Sc. 4.

Ibo Hercle aliquo quæritatum ignem.

Ignem magnum hic faciam —— and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* sheltering her self by the Altar of *Thetis*, [illegible] —— on which the *Scholiast* thus [illegible], &c. And yet all [illegible] or Petitioners, were not so afraid of a fire. As appears by the name of [illegible], which they have from flying to *hearths*, place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themistocles* did, when he *Ostracis'd* and banished, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Molossi* for shelter. Otherwise none that fled thither, could be so wicked, but they counted him worse that should meddle with him. Insomuch that those who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundered the Temple of *Minerva*) because they killed them hanging on the *Altars*, were ever after themselves, and all other such *prophane* companions after them called [illegible], as who should say, *hinderers* of *Supplica-*

[illegible]ation. Profane, I said, for it was no better than pro[illegible]on, according to the Poet, *ϛέφη μιαίνεται*, the Garlands are [illegible]ed.

Eurip. in Heracl.

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibusq; genibus.

[illegible]titioners both to the gods and men, used to go with *[illegible]* Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their [illegible] *[illegible]* (saith the Scholiast [illegible] *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those [illegible] boughs are called by the several names of *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, and sometimes *[illegible]* for [b] *Iphigenia* [illegible]ing them, told her Father she would make her own body [illegible]ly the room thus,

a In Oed.

b In Aul. v. 1216.

[illegible]
[illegible]

In those boughs they put wooll, (as we do silk in posies) and called them *[illegible]*, *vittatas laureas.*

[illegible]
[illegible] The wooll was not ty'd, [illegible] fastened to the boughs, but only wreathed and wrapped [illegible]in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in [illegible] Tragedy of the *Theban Women Petitioners* (v. 31.) called it [illegible] *[illegible]* the *Tye without a knot.* The *Italians* [illegible] such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies

Æschyl. in eum.

Jamq; oratores aderant ex Urbe Latina
Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

and *Livy* speaks of the like practise of the people of *Rhodes.* The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive.*

[c] *Vittatæ laurus & supplicis arbor Olivæ.*

[illegible], because both those kinds are *[illegible]* not *subject to withering*, and therefore [d] *Euripides* gives the latter the epithete of [illegible] 2ly. Because the Laurel was a sign of *prevailing*, and

c Stat. Theb. l. 12.

d In Ion. v. 1436.

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Lactantius* ſaies, [illegible] *pax petitur ſupplicando*. Now the cuſtome was w

thoſe boughs, if they were doubtful of prevailing, to

but the *knees* of the man whom they petitioned, or of the

[a] Dion. Halic. l. 4.

[b] Soph. Oed. T.

[c] Eurip. in Heracl.

of the god, juſt as [a] *Lucretia* did [illegible]: Bu

if hopeful, the *hands*. [b] [illegible] χειρὶ [illegible]. And if con-fident, the *chin*, and the *cheeks*, [illegible]. It is ſaid b

a Comment upon *Pindar* in his *Nem.* (where the Poet deſir

to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he praies for a *Gale* of ſu

ceſſe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they deſired the par

conſent, they touched the head to have it *aſſent*; when h

help, his *helping* hand; when ſucceſſe, the knee. The laſ

know no great *reaſon* for, but *hiſtory* enough, even from th

Natural Hiſtorian himſelf. *Hominis genibus quædam relig*

ineſt obſervatione gentium; hæc ſupplices attingunt, ad hæc man

tendunt; hæc ut aras adorant. All his *reaſon* is, becauſe of th

abundance of ſpirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortaſſe q*

ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate [illegible]*, cen jugulo, ſpi*

ritus fugiat. And therefore *Homer* makes the *Litæ*, the *Peti-ners gods* to be *lame*. As good as that of *Zenobius* [illegible]

τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχειν, [illegible] *becauſe* Judg

had them upon their knees then, which now they write in their book

If the Petitioners were very fearful, and the perſo

very great quality, they would bow ſo low as to kiſſe h

Xenoph. l. 7.

feet; as thoſe did to *Cyrus*, Κῦρε [illegible]. I

was either this kiſſe, or a kiſſe of their own hand, which th

anciently termed *adoration*. The *old gloſſe* calls it [illegible]

[illegible], ἢ [illegible]. I have read of a kiſſe of the han

when they did the reverence to the Gods, with putting th

fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joyn

which they uſed in counting the number of ten) and then gi-ving a turn on the right hand, as it is in [d] *Plautus*,

[d] In Curcul.

Quo me vortam, neſcio. Si deos ſalutas, dextrovorſum, cenſeo.

The ſafeſt place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as t

the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth of th

fire,

re whither they presently ran, when they came to any ge place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of e house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of ro in his *oration for his house*, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni re-one munitius, quam domus uniuscujusq; civium. Hic aræ sunt, foci, hic dii penates, hic sacra religionis ceremoniæ continentur; perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the hes, in as mournful posture as might be: they need not *open mouths* for pitty; neither was it the custome so to do: those *actions* speak loud enough; and an *eye* would serve hearing.

[illegible]
[illegible] &c.

is was the a practise of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*; but so as first, by the uction of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along h him for his *guard*, [illegible] ἀναντίῤῥη- [illegible] Μολοσσῶν, the only way *in use among the to obtain a request*.

L. 4. Argon.
a Odyss. 7.

Thucidid.

f they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion s first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray, their desires might be crowned with successe.

b Πάντας δὲ βωμοὺς οἳ κατ᾽ Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Προσῆλθε κ᾽ ἐξέστεψε, καὶ προσηύξατο
Πτόρθων ἀποσχίζουσα μυρσίνης φόβην.

b Eurip. in Alcest.

eir usual gesture in praying, was to hold up their *arms* right ard Heaven, as c *Helen* saies

—[illegible]
[illegible]—

c Eurip. Helen v. 1100

but to wrest their *hands* as far as they could upon their rests. According to that of a *Æschylus*, where he saies of *metheus*, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, is stomack was so great, that he said he scorned to submit o pray *muliebribus supinis*, with *banded hands* like Women and children. [illegible]

Now ſometimes, if they obtained their requeſt, and it were matter of conſequence, you ſhould have them relate it the Prieſt of the Temple to be regiſtred; or write it d in a Table, and leave it behind them, to ſhow for a te mony.

CAP. III.

De generibus & locis ſacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's even out with a little more that which we have obſerved in reading, concerning th manner of ſerving their gods. Their divine ſervices in reſ of the cauſe or occaſion, were 1. εὐκταῖα, or χαριστήρια, *vota, fr will offerings*, ſervices promiſed and paid for a victory o like.

* Ovid. Met. l. 9.

—— **Cenæo ſacra parabat*

Vota Jovi —— 2ly. τὰ ἀπὸ μαντείας, *ſu were impoſed*, and *commanded by an Oracle.*

* Sophoc. on Trach.

—— *Εὐκταῖα φαίν᾽ ἢ 'κ μαντείας τινός.

In reſpect of the object (that is to which of the gods were formed) they were done either 1. ὑποχθονίοις to *gods under ground*, and that ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάρᾳ in a ditch digged, plowed up for that purpoſe. The Latines called it *Ara*, ſuc they uſed when they ſacrificed to the *Heroes*, for wh they had alſo Ἡρῷα, Temples and Plaies, and what no gether with the [a] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to ſ forth. 2ly Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much the ſame manner. And 3ly Τοῖς οὐρανίοις, to the gods *ground*, ἐπὶ βωμῷ, upon an Altar raiſed up high from ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and *Greeks* [b] ἕρκος ἱερὸν, and [c] γαίας ἕρκος, as if it were a *work*, *ſium*, or *Agger*, made of earth caſt up together. The diſtinc on betwixt βωμὸς and ἐσχάρα, is ſet down by the *Scholiaſt*

Euripid

[a] Schol. in Ariſt. in Avib.

[b] Soph. in Tomb.

[c] Eurip. in Heracl.

a *Euripides* thus, *Βωμὸς is an Altar built up high with an aſcent of ſeverall ſteps: ἐσχάρα is as it were one ſtep it ſelf, after the faſhion of ſome hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (Juſt as they made their *Adonia* b wherein they powred oyle and wine, and tempered it with the duſt, to make cakes for the Divel) The occaſion given him to make this diſtinction, was the words βωμοὶ ἐσχάραι in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἐσχάρα was there uſed in a large ſence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a βωμὸς (and ſo at the making of a ſtatue to be worſhipped) they had a cuſtome ὀσπρίων ἑψήματα χύτρας [illegible], for women in garments of ſeverall colours, to carry about pots of ſeverall ſorts of boyled pulſe, and to offer thereof to the c gods,

a In Phœniſſ.

b Schol in Ariſtoph. Eccleſ.

——τὰς χύτρας αἷς τὸν θεὸν
Ἱδρυσάμεθα, λαβοῦσ' ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρε.

c Schol. in Ariſtoph. in Pluto.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and ſo it may be called χῶμα or *tumulus*, as it uſes to be ſometimes of aſhes; ſometimes of earth and blood tempered together; ſometimes of ſtone, and ſometimes of wood. For the figure, it was ſometimes long, and ſometimes ſquare; but moſt often d κυκλοτερὴς round: as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables uſed to be. The places where they made their Altars, were uſuall *Mountains* and *high-places* (ſo often objected to the heatheniſh Iſraelites) for according to the Scholiaſt upon theſe words of e *Sophocles*, τὸν Οἰταῖον Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον πᾶν γὰρ ὄρος τοῦ Διὸς ὀνομάζεται ἐπεὶ ὑψίστῳ ὄντι τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὑψίστῳ δεῖ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖν τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν, *every Mountaine was called by Jupiters name, or conſecrated to Jupiter, becauſe the god being in a high place, it was fit to ſacrifice to him in a high place,* to be heard the better; as it was to the terreſtiall gods in a low, to come neerer to them. Beſides, the Altar in ſuch a place, was the leſſe in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the ſame Scholiaſt ſaies) ἀψαυστον καὶ ἄβατον,

d Odyſſ. ζ.

e In Trach.

3ly,

3ly, In reſpect of time, ſome do ſay that they ſacrificed to the *Hero's*, [a] ἐν δυσμαῖσιν αὐγᾶς *in the evening*, and to others in the morning.

a *Pindar. Iſth.* Δ.

Laſtly, in reſpect of the matter or the thing ſacrificed, it wa either τῶν ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, o elſe of things *without* life; and thoſe either ξηρῶν dry, as corne and flower, or τῶν ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine, or Milk, or Hony, uſu- ally called by the name of χοὰ. The firſt *Pythagoras* could no endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and ſo wa all for his ἁγνὰ θύματα, wherein there was no bloud, or ἀκάπνου θυσίας, (as *Thucydides* calls them) where there was no ſmoak, or [c] νηφάλιος θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every on elſe almoſt lik't it too well, and no ſuch glorious a buſineſſe as an ἐντελὴς θυσία, *a whole burnt ſacrifice.* Sometimes grea then a *Suovetauralia*, and conſiſting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat; and ſometimes but a τριττὺς of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat, I hardly believe they ever went ſo hig as an hundred, notwithſtanding—τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Co- miſſaries, unleſſe they were robbed of their due: as it ſeeme they were ſometimes, by him in the Poet, threatning to com- plain of one that did ſo,

b *Schol. in Eurip.*

c *Suidas.*

> [d] Καί σε φανῶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσιν
> Ἀδεκατεύτους τῶν θεῶν ἱε-
> ρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

d *Ariſtoph. in Equit.*

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

ὍΡΚΟΣ an *Oath*, (the ſon [*] of *Eris*, and yet the *end* [*] *of al contention*) was of two ſorts, *viz.* ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater, and the leſſe. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themſelves, by the *Stygian Lake.*

> Αὐτὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον.

[*] *Heſiod.*
[*] *Ep. ad Heb.* 6. 16.
Idem. in Theogon.

Which is the cauſe why ſome fetch the word ὅρκος *an oath*, from *Orcus Hell.* This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and preſcribed by him to the reſt of the gods, when he had the aſſiſtance of *Styx*, and his Sons againſt the *Titans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirſt in the fight. *Servius* ſaies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had ſworne falſe, or broken his oath when he ſwore by *Styx*, he was to be puniſhed for it in hell nine thouſand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himſelf ſubmitted to, and therefore took the more care how he ſware, as *Minutius* ſaies, *Deſtinatam enim ſibi cum ſuis cultoribus pœnam præſcius perhorreſcit.* He that ſwore either of theſe waies, was properly ſaid to ὀμνύειν, and to yeeld himſelf up to the mercy of thoſe that were able to puniſh him, if he called them to witneſſe that which was contrary to his *knowledge*, or his *meaning*. So that ſometimes it was the cuſtome to adde an imprecation of ſome evill, wherewith he knew them able to puniſh him, if they ſwore falſe. As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ Ζῆν' Ἀγέλαε, καὶ ἄλγεα πατρὸς ἐμοῖο.

By *Jove, and the ſorrowes of my Father*,

The *Womens* oath was commonly *by Juno*; and *by my Lady Diana*, as [a] *Clytemneſtra* uſes in *Euripides*, μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the ſuperſtitious oath of *By my Lady*, among ſome of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to ſweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος with three names) *viz.* Ἱκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξακεστήριος. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Cuſtos juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as ſome ſay it does) in the word *jusjurandum*, *quaſi Jovis jurandum*, it will ſufficiently be proved by the plaine teſtimony of the Poet, that ſaies ——Ζῆνα δ' ὃς ὅρκων

Θνητοῖς ταμίας νενόμισται.

Eurip. Med. v. 170.

[a] In Electr.

But ſo farre were they from being contented to ſweare by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any *other* of the *gods*, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be defiled, did ſerve the turne; as when *Demoſthenes* ſwore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, *thoſe that valiantly dyed in the battle of Marathon.* Sometimes for over much haſt or confidence, or ſome ſuch reaſon, they left it to the party, to whom they ſwore, to chuſe any of the gods, whomſoever him pleaſed to be tryed by: in this manner, ὄμνυμί σοι τινὰ τῶν θεῶν, as we ſay: *Ile lay you what you will.* This forme you may find uſed by *Plato in Phædro*, and *Ariſtænetus* in his Epiſtle of [a] *Euxitheus* to *Pythias*. Sometimes they ſwore by many gods together in the plurall number, without ſpecifying whom they meant. And ſometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τὼ Σιὼ, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*) [b] μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς —— by *the whole jury of the gods*, (neither honeſt nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher houſe, and *Dêos conſentes*, and ſo they put them together.) Other times again, they ſwore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein they were, eſpecially belonged; expreſſing his name. For ſo in the Market in buying and ſelling, or the like buſineſſe, they commonly ſwore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραῖον, *by Mercury.* But then you ſhould have ſome that out of meer *deiſidemony*, would ſay no more then μὰ τόν. *By &c.* ἀνακόπτειν χεῖλος ἐπιστομίζουσι, with a [c] religious *apoſiopeſis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the *oath by an oath it ſelf*, [d] μὰ τὸν ὅρκον. ναὶ or μὰ with ναὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath: and μὰ for a negative.

a L. 2. Ep. 2.

b Ariſtoph. in Equeſt.

c Ariſtoph. in Ran.

d Pind. Nem.

CAP. V.

De tribus in Juramento Magno.

THE cuſtomes in taking a *Great* oath, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth, were theſe. The gods uſed to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* as the Poet bids *Lacheſis* χεῖρας ἀντεῖναι. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in ſeverall places. Men when they ſwore a great oath, laid down their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the New Teſtament: whereas in a leſſe, or in a private oath, made to ſuch or ſuch a Man, by way of a bargain or a promiſe, according to the Roman faſhion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they ſwore. This ceremony, *I* remember *Menelaus* in [a] *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* beſides the word of her oath.

Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοίνυν, δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς θίγε.

2ly, To honour the gods by whom they ſwore, they ſacrificed the life *of one* of theſe three beaſts,[b] κάπρος, κριὸς, and τράγος, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goat: or all *three*, and of every ſort one or three of one of the ſorts, as *Adraſtus* was made to do, of three ſheep, in behalf of the *Argivi*.

——[c] λαιμοὺς τριῶν τεμὼν μήλων τομῇ which they called μηλοσφαγεῖν. Sometimes when they killed a boare, they cut out the ſtones (ὄρχις and ὅρκος are pretty near kin) and ſtood upon them as they ſwore. A Ramme or a boare thus uſed is properly called τόμια. Perhaps they uſed to ſacrifice Pigs chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reaſon choyce ſhould be made of that beaſt, rather then any other in ſwearing to, ſince there was ſo great account made of it in other buſineſſes, as ſolemne as that. For firſt *Jupiter* was nurſed by a Sow (ſay ſome) and concealed by the noyſe of the grunting; and therefore with the *Cretians* his Country men, there might be no initiation without it. 2ly *Varro* [d] ſaith *pecoris immolandi initium ſumptum à ſuillo*; *that it was the firſt beaſt that was Sacrificed*, which made ſome think that ὗς was ſo called, *quaſi* θῦς, and *Sus quaſi Thus*. Nay it was a creature ſo greatly *ſacred*, (or imployed to a *ſacred uſe*,) that *Sacres* by it ſelfe, is uſed for little pigges conſecrated for a Sacrifice. The fleſh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in theſe was not to be eaten

[a] *Helen. v.* 834

[b] *Ariſtoph. in Luſiſt.*

[c] *Eurip. Sup. v.* 1200.

[d] *De Re Ruſt.*

[a] eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fiſh. For either they buried it in the [b] ground, or elſe threw it into the Sea: as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was ſacrificed at an oath of *Agamemnons.*

a *Ariſtoph.* in *Lyſiſ.*
b *Euſtath.* in *Il. γ.*

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

Μικρὸς ὅρκος, or the little oath, was when they ſwore by a creature (and their *gods* were hardly ſo much.) ſuch as *per Crambem*, or by a Gooſe or a Dogge, κύνα or χῆνα as the Socraticks did, having that practiſe commended to them by their own Maſter: who (as it is in the Scholies upon [c] *Ariſtophanes*) in his twelfth Book τῶν Κρητικῶν, had told them that *Radamanthus* the juſteſt man that ever lived, had expreſly forbid them to ſweare by the gods; but inſtead thereof had allowed them the uſe of a Dogge or a Gooſe, or a Ramme, or ſuch like creatures. Sometimes they ſwore by the ground they ſtood upon, as *Hippolitus* does, in *Euripides.*

—— καὶ πέδον χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made uſe of. If the matter were ſerious, you might hear them ſwearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil,*

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante ſolebat.

Which was the reaſon (ſaies *Athenæus*) firſt, why they accounted the head ἱερὸν, *holy and Sacred.* 2ly, Why they did προσκυνεῖν τοὺς πταρμοὺς, *bow* the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly, Why the old Philoſophers made ſuch a ſcruple to eate of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they uſed this oath but ſeldome, accounting it ἁγνὸν ὅρκον, as *Helena* called it when ſhe ſwore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. Ἀλλ' ἁγνὸν ὅρκον σὸν κάρα κατώμοσα.

c *In Avib.*
d *V.* 1025.
e L. 2.

The Cuſtomes uſed both in the Little and Great oaths too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were ſometimes, creeping upon their hands thorough the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (*μύδρους* they called it, ſuch a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* [a] took the Sunne to be) ſuppoſing (as the Scholiaſt ſaies upon *Sophocles*) *τῷ μὴ ἐνέχειν τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἐν τούτοις μὴ ἀλγεῖν, that if they were not guilty of the crime, they ſhould not be ſenſible of the pain.* Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like cuſtome, we read to have been in uſe among the Saxon anceſtors, and for the ſame purpoſe, under the name of *Fire Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, paſſing blindfolded in the ſpaces between a great many red-hot Plow-ſhares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt, thereby cleared themſelves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, ſolemnly vowing to keep the *oath* without *breaking*, as long as the Sea ſhould the Iron without *ſwimming*.

——[b] μέχρις τὸ μέσῳ μένῃ εἰν ἁλὶ μύδρος.

Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water; if it ſwamme, and the water could endure it, he ſwore true; but if it ſunk, and the water would not ſuffer it to be ſeen, he was to be puniſhed immediately without more adoe. And this puts me in mind of a League with the Athenians, which the Poet ſaies they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be ſent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a teſtimony, and a memoriall.

Μνημεῖα δ' ὅρκων, μαρτυρήματ' Ἑλλάδι

to be produced when occaſion ſhould require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his eighth book *de Clitophontis, & Leucippes amoribus*) ſpeaks of a cuſtome, if a Wench were accuſed of

Whore-

[a] *Schol. Eurip. in He.*

[b] *Callimach.*

Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnes, with the table about her neck. If ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (ſaies he) *the very water growes angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it goe up as high as her neck, and over the table; leaſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould look the Sun, and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed, Inſomuch that εὔορκος, was commonly uſed for εὐσεβὴς,

a In Plut.

Οὐδέ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται οὔτε δικαίου. in Heſiod
and ——— εἴ τι χαίρεις εὐόρκου ξένος. in Ariſtophanes.

Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjurious.* And therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Jupiters* lightning and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid, that they did more hurt to the *wicked* then to others, ſaies he, εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, *if perjured men are onely lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poore Oake tree is ſo often hurted? οὐ γὰρ δρῦς ἐπιορκεῖ ſince it can never be perjured.* Such as were common and cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρδηττοὶ from Ἀρδηττὸς (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oaths uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walke the round, for no other purpoſe: according to that of [b] *Heſiod.*

b Dieb.

Ἐν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασὶν ἐριννύας ἀμφιπολεύειν
Ὅρκον τιννυμένας———

and therefore *Agamemnon* when he ſwore that he never had to [illegible] *Briſeis*, called the Furies to witneſſe too, as well as the Earth and the Sun.

——— Ἐριννύες αἵθ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ.

Nay in ſome places, the inſenſible creatures ſeemed to be ſenſible of the ſinne, and ſave the Furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in Cicily, there were certain *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there roſe ſometimes fumes, and ſometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people uſed to reſort from other places, for deciding of Controverſies by taking an oath. For if any one ſwore falſe near theſe fonts, he was preſently ſtrucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Beſides theſe, there were other meanes of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Ὅρκιος, πάντων ὁπόσα ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἐς ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the moſt dreadfull manner of any, *viz.* with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of braſſe at his feet, on which were engraven certain Elegiacall verſes, compoſed of purpoſe to terrify ſuch as durſt invocate that god in falſhood. All this moved the *Lacedæmonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet ſaid of them.

Pauſan. in Eliac.

Οἷσιν ὑπὸ βωμοῖσ', ὑπὸ πᾶσιν οὐδ' ὅρκος μένει.

Which you will ſay is very likely, if you remember the ſaying of *Lyſander*, one of their own generalls, ἐξαπατᾶν χρῆναι παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις, πολεμίους δ' ὅρκοις, *fallere oportere pueros aſtragalis, hoſtes autem juramentis.*

O o SECT.

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leſchis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an Athenian were charitable *to be died*) for my part, I have found him to be of good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and his companions as *merry as a Greek*. Of the goodneſſe of Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pre teſtimonies, whereby I ſhall make it appeare; how hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but to Brute Beaſts. For the firſt you may hear it from *Demoſthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into (a time not ſo ſafe for ſuch expreſſions) they brought on the way, and carryed every one ſomething under his to furniſh him for his journey, inſomuch that at parting cryed out Πῶς φέρειν δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν ποῖοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐχθρῶν, ὅσως ἐν ἄλλῃς ἀλλαχοῦ φίλους εὑρήσω. *ſhall I endure to leave ſuch a City, wherein the very enemies as good as a man can find friends any where elſe?* For the you ſhall have two pretty inſtances, as I had them from the ſame Author. The firſt is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expelled the houſe for killing a Sparrow, which being purſued by another bird fled into his boſome for ſhelter.ᵃ Ὡς οὐχ ὅσια δρῶντα,

a Phot. ad 1591.

ſaies

[illegible] he) *as if he had not done righteous things.* [illegible] [illegible], not ſo much out of love to the [illegible], as hatred to his conditions. The laſt is of one *Pra-xiles*, whom for ſkinning of a Ram alive, they puniſhed much after the ſame manner, as the Ramme was [illegible]. The goodneſſe of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and diſcourſe. For there is [illegible] ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ſaies *Theophraſtus*, [illegible] in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Ariſto-[illegible]* calls it [illegible] *eating of words*, *Plautus*, *comedere ſermones*. And it may be they might be made ſometimes to eat their words indeed, if they putted ſo much as by all mens report they did. For they were ſo λογοποιοὶ (as the Character terms them) ſo employed ἐν τῷ [illegible] τοὺς λόγους, *in diſſeminandis & ſpargendis, rumoribus*; and were ſo much given to ſpend their time in nothing elſe, but either *to heare or to tell ſome new thing*, [a] that I wonder with what face, they could call St. *Paul* Σπερμολόγον. Though I know ſome do rather chuſe to fetch the word from λέγειν *to gather*, as the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be [illegible] *ſuch as watch for looſe things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where they met and diſcourſed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better ſort: or Trades-mens ſhops for the meaner, like the Roman *Tabernæ*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but eſpecially thoſe in the ſhops and the places themſelves, and the confabulations therein, they called λέσχας [illegible] ſaith *Euripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durſt call the convention indicted by the king, by the name of λέσχη too. Now thoſe ſhops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb [illegible] uſed by *Polybius*, i. e. *Barbers talke*, (as [illegible] ſay) *Lye like a tooth drawer*. But eſpecially Smiths, and ſuch as made uſe of a Fire; being free for any that would warme them-

Theophr.

a Act.17.21.

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leſchis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (*as if an Athenian were charitable, and ſo he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as *merry as a Greek*. Of the goodneſſe of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant teſtimonies, whereby I ſhall make it appeare; how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute Beaſts. For the firſt you may hear it from *Demoſthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not ſo ſafe for ſuch expreſſions) they brought going on the way, and carryed every one ſomething under his arme, to furniſh him for his journey, insomuch that, at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρων δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀπολιπεῖν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τοιούτους ἐχθροὺς ἔχω, οἵους ἐν ἄλλῃ ἀλλαχοῦ φίλους εὑρεῖν. *How ſhall I endure to leave ſuch a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where elſe?* For the laſt you ſhall have two pretty inſtances, as I had them from the ſame Author. The firſt is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expelled the houſe for killing a Sparrow, which being purſued by another bird fled into his boſome for ſhelter. Ὡς οὐκ ὅσια δρῶντα,

a Phec. ad 1591.

ſaies he) *as if he had not done righteous things*. [illegible] not ſo much out of love to the ſparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The laſt is of one *Praxiteles*, whom for skinning of a Ram alive, they puniſhed much after the ſame manner, as the Ramme was [illegible]. The goodneſſe of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and diſcourſe. For there is [illegible] ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ſaies *Theophraſtus*, *good cheere* in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Ariſtophanes* calls it [illegible] *eating of words*, *Plautus*, *comedere ſermones*. And it may be they might be made ſometimes to eat their words indeed, if they putted ſo much as by all mens report they did. For they were ſo λογοποιοὶ (as the Character terms them) ſo employed [illegible] τοὺς λόγους, *in diſſeminandis & ſpargendis rumoribus*; and were ſo much given to ſpend their time in nothing elſe, but either *to heare or to tell ſome new thing*, [a] that I wonder with what face, they could call St. *Paul* Σπερμολόγον. Though I know ſome do rather chuſe to fetch the word from λέγειν *to gather*, as the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be [illegible], *ſuch as watch for looſe things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up*. The places where they met and diſcourſed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better ſort: or Trades-mens ſhops for the meaner, like the Roman *Tabernæ*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos*. Their meetings in this kind, but eſpecially thoſe in the ſhops and the places themſelves, and the confabulations therein, they called λέσχας· [illegible] λέσχας ſaith *Euripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durſt call the convention indicted by the king, by the name of λέσχη too. Now thoſe ſhops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb [illegible] uſed by *Polybius*, i. e. *Barbers talke*, (as [illegible] ſay) *Lye like a tooth drawer*. But eſpecially Smiths, and ſuch as made uſe of a Fire; being free for any that would warme them-

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ſelves, and without any doores, as the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words in *Heſiod*, l. 2. Concerning χαλκεῖον θῶκον &c. τὰ ἐργαστήρια (ſaies he) τὰ χαλκεῖα ἢ ἄλλα τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἔλεγον λέσ-χας, ἃ ἢ λέσχας ἐκάλουν. And to this belongs that of *Homer*.

Il. Θ. & Σ. Οὐδ' ἐθέλεις εὕδειν χαλκήϊον ἐς δόμον ἐλθὼν
Ἠέ που ἐς λέσχην.

The diſcourſe was for the moſt part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childiſh and Idle, well beſitting ſuch *Gerulifiguli*, as moſt of them were. But the Philoſophers that met in the λέσχαι which *Hierocles* ſpeaks of, had better diſcourſe. Theſe places were conſecrated to the honour of *Apollo*, who is therefore ſaid to have the name of Λεσχηνεῖος (ſo ſaith *Suidas*) but it ſhould be rather Λεσχηνόριος, ſaies *Meurſius*) the reaſon was, becauſe ſuch meetings were, or ſhould be in the the day time: and ſometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a ſet meale amongſt *themſelves*, was anciently, but once a day at ſupper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* in ſeverall places) it is not eaſy to determine. Some ſay, there were foure meales a day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or διανηστισμὸς, the *Breakfaſt*, 2. Ἄριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. Δόρπον, the *Beaver*. 4. Δεῖπνον, the *Supper*. Juſt ſo many *Athenæus* has, but in this order, viz. 1. Ἀκράτισμα. 2. Ἄριστον. 3. Ἑσπέρισμα, or (*Veſpernas*) 4. Δεῖπνον. Others make but theſe three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. Δεῖπνον. 3.

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Sympoſ. l. 4. had no eares, but for the *Bell*, τοῦ κώδωνος ὀξέως ἀκούοντας.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others*, was when they kept a feaſt. And thus to ſpend their mony, was eſpecially called [illegible], and δαπανᾶν: the merriment it ſelfe, by the name of ἥβη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* miniſtring to the gods at a feaſt; and from whence [illegible] came to be uſed for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feaſt was of three [b] kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2. Γάμος, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, otherwiſe called [c] συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῶν συμβολῶν ἄγειν καὶ [illegible] ἀνδρὸς πολλῶν τινῶν, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolam* his *part*, or elſe lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawne*, or his *earneſt* with the maſter of the feaſt. The earneſt was commonly a ring, as *Terence* ſaies, *dati annuli, locus, tempus conſtitutum*. And ſometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the mony for the feaſt, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to ſell, or do what he would with it. The reaſon why it was not ſo coſtly, and thoſe that were at it, did eat ſo ſparingly, [illegible] [d] ἔρανος, was becauſe every one brought his own provider with him, and from thence they were called [illegible] *ſodales*. Sometimes they call ſuch a feaſting [illegible], from going as we ſay, or *clubbing*, or *caſting* every one his *lot* into the purſe, [illegible], ſaies *Tzetzes* upon [f] *Heſiod*. And ſo likewiſe ſometimes ἀπὸ κοινοῦ δεῖπνον, from [illegible], becauſe the charges were *ſcattered*, or *ſown* by ſeverall hands, which is reſembled very well by the *Sportula* inſtituted by *Nero*. Laſtly Θίασος (they ſay) has been uſed for the ſame, Θιασῶται for the company.

Of this way of Feaſting, you have a briefe and large commendation in *Heſiod*.

[a] Schol. in Ariſt. Veſp.

[b] Euſtathius in Hom.

[c] Ariſtoph. & Schol.

[d] Σχ. ibid.

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[f] L. 2.

Athen. l. 8.

Μηδὲ πολυξείνε δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος εἶν
Ἐκ κοινῦ πλείςη ἢ χάρις, δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίςη.
Be not averſe from common feaſts; for there
The charge the leaſt is, and the moſt the cheere.

Sometimes you ſhould have a Covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very *wedding dinner*, in the manner of an ἔρανος: and every one that comes muſt bring his part with him, and be ἰδιόστολος, (as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier [a] *that goes a warfare at his own coſt.*) This kind of feaſting (I think) may very well be named πανδαισίαν, for [*] *that* is either when there is meate of *all ſorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they ſit *higly pigly*, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλαπίνη (for of γάμος we have ſpoken already) uſed to be a little more coſtly πολυτελής. It was thus called either, 1. From λάπτειν the *lapping and tipling* in it, or, 2. From their gathering together, or ſitting in *companies*; ὅτι κατ' εἴλας, ἢ ὁμοῦ εἰλούμενοι ἔπινον, or, 3. From ἕλικες, the *vertigines* or *rounds* uſed in dances [*] ἑλίσσειν δίναις. The company at ſuch a feaſt were called εἰλαπινασταί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themſelves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδι, unleſſe it were to accompany ſome of their very near friends: according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neque in convivium adhibetur niſi propinquorum, neq; ſedet niſi in interiore parte ædium, quæ Gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, niſi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.* The uſuall cuſtomes in feaſting were theſe. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers, appointed for the purpoſe to diſcommon them: And to them the Cooks were to repaire, to be examined concerning the ſame. Beſides thoſe Officers, there was an οἰνόπτης too, to ſee how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἄσωτος or intemperate; he was to be puniſhed by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occaſion to the Drunken unthrifts of thoſe times, to call the Greeks μικροτραπέζους, and

[a] In Craſſ.

[*] Schol. in Ariſtoph. Pac.

[*] Pindar.

and [illegible], as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed ſuch bite-figges, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to paſſe that *Cookery* was ſo much in requeſt among them; ([illegible], it is an honourable profeſſion ſaies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Phyſick, Aſtronomy, and Geometry, was thought ſo requiſite to that art; or that in ancient time, the Cook ſhould be one of the chief officers at a Sacrifice, as they ſay he was? the laſt indeed, was very convenient, ſince a Sacrifice and a feaſt ſo well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or inſtead of invitations they ſent their friends a piece of the victime: [illegible] *Menan.* L. 4.

[illegible]

——as ſoon as you
To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Marſia* too.

CAP. III.

De more ſalutandi, Sympoſiarcha, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de menſis.

WHen the gueſts were come, the manner of ſalutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a pot, and kiſſe them; and ſuch a kiſſe as this they called [illegible] *a pot*. The faſhion of kiſſing the hand was but of latter daies, and *oſculum* may be *oſculum* [illegible] from the *mouth*. Anciently they uſed to put their mouth upon the eyes, and ſometimes upon the head, the ſhoulder, or the neck like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body: as *Xuthus* deſired to do to *Ion*. Pollux l. 9. c. 24.

[illegible] Eurip. Ion. v. 578.

Embracing was the moſt uſuall ſalutation. Inſomuch that (if you will believe the * Scholy) the word [illegible] uſed to ſignify to *Salute*, does properly ſignify to *imbrace*, as being derived

* On Ariſtoph. Plut.

derived (ſaies he) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγειν αὐτὰς [illegible] ἔργον. The compellation to ſuch as they reſpected was uſually ἠθεῖε, *vir honeſte, worthy Sir,* rather then κύριε, *Domine,* or *Maſter.*

Eurip. in Suppl.

——— ἐν ξυνέχων ἠθεῖος γεραίτερε.

Till the meat came up, the Gueſts ſpent their time, in obſerving and commending the conveniences of the houſe, and the houſhold ſtuffe, and the like, according to *his* inſtructions in a *Ariſtophanes.*

a *Veſp.*

Ἔπειτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων
Ὀροφὴν θέασαι ——

The ἑστιάτωρ, the Maſter of the houſe, ſhall I ſay, or the Maſter of the Feaſt? or rather the *founder* of the feaſt, (for Συμποσίαρχος the Maſter, was many times no more then a Maſter-Steward, or b συμποσίου ἐπιμελητὴς the Caterer choſen by a company at a Collocation) preſently had his γραμματίδιον brought him in by the Cook i. e. a *note* containing the ſeverall ſorts of diſhes which they were to expect. Now in ſome feaſts, to carouſe it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modiperator,* and the faſhion yet in uſe in Italy, and among us on *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who ſhould be Βασιλεὺς *King,* and he to whoſe lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any reſtraint. Which ſometimes proved too *tyrannicall* : as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius,* who commanded a fellow *winer* [illegible] τῆς κεφαλῆς *to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.*

b Pollux, l. 2. c. 1.

C. 8.

All the while that the feaſt laſted, they kept burning of Frankincence and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the ſence of ſmelling too, might have a *taſt* of the myrrh, ([illegible] for c *ſmell-feaſt*) or elſe to ſtop the mouthes, and the angry *noſes* of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing themſelves, they uſed to offer a taſt of the beſt of every diſh. But how they did it I know not ; unleſſe they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

c Athenæus. [illegible]

—— ὃ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς.

The Gueſts before they ſate down, uſed to Crown their eads with Garlands, made for the moſt part of Myrtle, for remember the bold gueſt in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drink. ——— *ϛέφει δὲ κρᾶτα μυρσίνης κλάδοις*. ound his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to *ſecure* it from a king, and e Romans it ſeems agree with them herein, for ſaies *Horace*, hen he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto,

The uſe of theſe Garlands, was to coole the head, and ſo to eſtraine the heat of the Wine. Neither did they *crown* their eads only, but *anoint* them too, as if he had been going to *wreſtle* with the ſtrength of the liquor: for ſo ſaies he in *Veſp.* ——— *μύρον κατάχεε*

Τὴν [illegible].

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it ſeems.

——— *habebat uncta mollia ſerta coma.*

ing it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours m coming altogether, or to open the pores, and let them t as ſoon as they came. For the ſame end was it, that the erb *crambe* was ſo much uſed in their feaſts, as it was alſo ong the Ægyptians; and very likely it is to have a vertue at way, in regard of the antipathy ſaid to be in the nare of it, to the nature of the Vine, ſo great, that it will t endure to grow near it; which antipathy (ſay they) has en in it, ever ſince * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenſs, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twigges, to be rown into the *Sea*, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ound, out of which teare preſently ſprung the *crambe*, ſo lled quaſi *[illegible]* from *κόρη*, or *Pupilla* the *Apples*, or the *ghts* (as we ſay) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be rtfull.

Beſides anointing, there was waſhing too, both before and fter meat, *that* before, had a peculiar name of *ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρὸς*: e other they call *ἀπονίψασθαι*.

Καταψύχοντας τὸ κρανίον. Saies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtoph. in Avib.*

* *χα.* On *Ariſtoph. in Equit.* Act. 1. *Sc.* 3.

a Poll. l. 6. c. 2.

b Ariſtoph. in Eq.

Their *poſture* at eating was lying upon a [illegible] *beds* (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a ψίαθος a *matt* a cloſe by, which had bed clothes and all to ſleep upon. Thoſe [illegible] were uſually covered with ſkinnes: according to that in the b Poet of one that lay ſnorting upon a full belly,

Ῥέγχει μεθύων ἐν ταῖσι βύρσαις ὕπτιος.

c. Il. 10.

And ſometimes with Tapiſtry, for the better ſort: for with ſuch *Achilles* his Embaſſadours are entertained in c *Homer*,

———τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισι The manner of lying was on their ſides, and leaning upon their elbows, and therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they ſate at meat upon the ground) [illegible], *to place his elbow handſomely*. They reſted their feet upon a *ſphe-rus*, or a *foot-ſtoole*: ſuch a one as *Juno* would beſtow upon *Somnus* for the ſame uſe.

Τῷ κεν ἐπισχοίης λιπαροὺς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων.———

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Veſpæ*, asking how he ſhould ſit, was bid γόνατ' ἔκτεινον, *to ſtretch out his knees*. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*. Unleſſe the man were of a higher *ſtomack* then he that ſaid, *Sit mihi menſa tripes*: for then it might be of another faſhion. But uſually it was made with three legs, and an ἐπίθημα upon it, called [illegible] (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and ſet on, as they had occaſion. Of what faſhion ſoever it was, they uſed to reverence it with a great deale of religion: ſo as not to have any uncivill or prophane or immodeſt diſcourſe, as long as they ſate at it. For why (ſaies *Syneſius*) it *is holy* and *conſecrated* to *Jupiter* [illegible] and [illegible]. Which gave occaſion to that expreſſion of *Demoſthenes* in d [illegible] And to *Juvenals reverentia menſæ*. The e firſt that ever dared to profane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Tereus* his ſon, and ſerved him up in the diſh.

Ep. 57.

d [illegible] Sä, c.

Pauſ. in Phocb.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they ſay) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Maſts and Acornes: for their bread at leaſt, if not for their Meat. And there were *βαλανολόγοι*, people employed of purpoſe to gather them. There *Virg. Æn.* was no *cereale ſolum*, in thoſe dayes, no fear of *menſas conſumimus*. 'Twas enough for the luxury of *later* dayes, to make *paniceas menſas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In alluſion to the uſe of this food *A. Gellius* ſaies that the Romans made *L. 5. c. 6.* their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquiſſimus quernus capi ſolitus ſit. In remembrance of their oaken diet.* After maſt, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. For that kind of corne was the [a] firſt in uſe. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a puniſhment to uſe it, as [b] *Suetonius* ſaies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of uſing corne at *firſt*, before that Mills came up (*οἱ μύλοι*, ſaid to be firſt invented by *Mylas*) was to roſt it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinſere* to *beat* it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. Thoſe that did *Serv. ad Æn. 1.* this, the Romans called *pinſores*, which afterwards came to *piſtores, bakers*. We read of קָלִי *parched ſtuffe* among the Iſrae- *2 Sam. c. 17. v. 28.* lites too, even there where we read of flower, and ſo it was not for need that they uſed it. In time it came to varieties: and I alſo might ſay a great deale concerning them; as likewiſe of their uſuall diſhes at feaſts, both of fiſh and fleſh. But you may have enough of *Athenæus* with little paine, and leſſe profit. Only I deſire to obſerve one thing, that of all the parts of a beaſt, the braine might by no meanes be ſeen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eate a *beane*: and thought that none but he that had loſt his ſenſes; would offer to devoure that, from

[a] *Artemidor. l. 1. c. 71.*

[b] *In Aug. c. 24.*

which all the *ſenſes* had their *life.* Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *braine* might not be in their mouthes to *ſpeake* it, as well as to eate it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he ſpeaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the ſea, and daſhing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the braine *white marrow of his head.* In Trachin.

Κόμης δὲ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκραίνει μέσου
Κρατὸς ——

Hecuba in *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Aſtyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the ſame manner, calling it ὀστέων ῥαγέντων φόνον, adding withall ἵν᾽ αἰσχρὰ μὴ λέγω *with reverence be it ſpoken.*

But as for the Entralle, σπλάγχνα, no diſh ſo common as that: inſomuch that you ſhould have ſome covetous fellowes make a feaſt of nothing elſe. Such a feaſt they called more peculiarly [illegible], or μαγειρικὴν τράπεζαν. The meat was ſerved up in diſhes of wood; or of braſſe (for the better ſort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drinke*, which they had at feaſts during meale time, was uſually wine mingled with water to allay the ſtrength of it. And this mixture they ſay was the invention of *Amphyction* (him whom they report to have firſt inſtituted the meeting of the ſeven Cities called *Concilium Amphyctyonicum*) but I have another ſtory for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Phyſitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* firſt brought his Vines from the *Red-ſea* into *Greece*; the people came preſently flocking to the Sea ſide, and fell ſo immoderately to the liquor, that ſome became dead-drunk, and ſome raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a ſudden tempeſtuous ſhowre, when they returned againe, found ſome of the raine *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, [illegible] ἄλυπον [illegible] ἀπαλλάττειν, notwithſtanding found no ſuch effects as the former did, but continued ſober. This (they ſay) is the reaſon that at the firſt bringing in of the κεκραμένον, or

* L. 15.

mixed wine, to the table, they used to remember [illegible] Σωτῆρος, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, and the *mixture*. To which they added the *health* called Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, if the feast were a solemne feast; and [illegible], if it were at a Wedding: altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third round to be, to *Jupiter Servator*

—— ἢ Διὸς σωτῆρος
[illegible] κρατῆρος.

Presently after meale came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in puris naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) ἀκρατισμα, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the *first tast* before they went to eating used to be. The great Crater being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the *good genius* (to whom they meant to indulge), or to the goodly god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος: and so to drinke is ἐπιλέγειν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, making it a religious businesse, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink offering, as he saies [illegible], [illegible] ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. And many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαῖμον ἀγαθέ. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interpreters ἀγαθοδαιμονισταὶ for [illegible], *little drinkers*. The last health of all, which they dranke just as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames. *—— [illegible]

[illegible].

for that was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) [illegible]. Yet some say it was Διὸς τελείου. ἀσκὸς, the bottle or vessell out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinne of a Goate. And therefore in *Lysistrata* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of Κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα *blood*, and the powring it out σφάγια *slaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it φιλοτησίαν κύλικα, or φιλοτησίαν *a cup of good friendship*: and such kind of expressions Δεξιώσεις, *takings, or pledgings*: according to that

Aristoph. in Eq.

* In Vesp.

[illegible]

[illegible] —— And thus if a great man kept the feaſt, when he dranke to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he dranke a health to one whom he loved (ἐρωμένῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himſelf, and beſtowed the reſt upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would ſit up drinking for a wa-ger all the night, and he that could keep himſelf waking till morning, had a πυραμοῦς, a cake made of flower and hony fo his labour, Juſt as the women uſe to have in the *Theſmopho-ria*. In ſuch mad fits as theſe, they were wont to have γρίφους rid-dles propoſed, which he that could not interpret, was to dri off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depa unleſſe he had leave, (perhaps it was unleſſe he *took* his leave) of the Maſter of the feaſt. And here I might eaſily ſpeake e-nough of their [illegible], but I think a *little* is ſufficient, and th I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were no-thing but Bulls horns, ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ni-cander*, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κεράσαι. Inſomuch that the word κεράσαι, to fil drink, ſeemed to be derived from κέρατα theſe *hornes*. *Seili* Hence it was that they uſed to picture *Bacchus* with *Bu hornes*. Nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which oc-caſioned ſome to call him down-right by the name of *Tau* a Bull. And the reaſon of thoſe phancies was (ſaies the Scho-liaſt) διὰ τὸ παραφέρεσθαι [illegible] for the ſtrange (ſaies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage o thoſe that uſe his liquor. But the beſt is, *dat Deus immiti cor-nua curta bovi*. Afterward they grew weary of hornes, an came to their cannes, which they ſeem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his ſake too, no queſtion, to whom the wood be-longs) Ποτῆρα δ' ἐν χείρεσσι κίσσινον λαβὼν.

Eurip. Alc. v. 756.

CAP.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à diſcumbentibus fieri ſolebant.

FOR their behaviour at table, ſpitting and coughing, and ſpeaking loud, was counted uncivill in any but a Gentleman (as we ſay in the Univerſity, that nothing is freſh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory ἀνρυπαγῶς ζῆν, ſaies *Stobæus*, to *live ſlovenly*, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clare excreare*; ſo it is among ſome great men to ſit and eat careleſly. But *paring of nailes* was ſuch a *ſordid* thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Heſiod* (as tis thought) long ſince *abominated* the *incivility*, or what ſhall I call it to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πεντόζοιο θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ
Αὖον ἀπὸ χλωροῦ τέμνειν αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ.

Not from the *five-branch'd digitonia* do with a knife
At feaſting cut the *withered* for thy life.

Their attendants were, every one his παῖς, or his *Pedee*, to whom they uſed to deliver τὰ ἀποφόρητα choice bits, or ſuch dainties as they liked beſt, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I muſt confeſſe it was counted ſomewhat *baſe*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feaſt indeed, and *open* houſe. Thoſe Pages or ſervants were commonly *black moores*; after the faſhion of the Romans,

— tibi pocula curſor
Gætulus dabit, aut nigri manus oſſea Mauri.

Μοῖραι, *portions*, which we read of, were another thing; as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choice diſhes at a feaſt diſtributed by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were abſent. For ſuch *Plutarch* reports to have been ſent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Ariſtophanes* (in his *Acharnans*) by the Bride at a Wedding.

Ἔπεμψέ τίς σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα
Ἐκ τῶν γάμων.

And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as * *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and alſo at feaſts (as thoſe were bid to do by a *Nehemiah*) uſed to ſend מנות *portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared.* When they had greaſed their fingers, they would take a piece of ſoft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverbe *tanquam canis vivens ε magdalia*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*; for ſo they called ſuch a piece of bread from [illegible] *to wipe*; ſuch a thing as their Cooks [illegible] a piece of *courſe bread*, which they had for the ſame uſe. [illegible]

1 Sam 1. 4.

a Nehem. c. 8, 10.

The *deſert* conſiſted of *nuts* and *fruit*, and all ſorts of *junkets*; they called this ſervice, by the ſeverall names of b [illegible], τραγήματα, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], *epidorpia menſæ*. And now to *crowne* all with dancing and muſick, which *Homer* calls c ἀναθήματα δαιτός, (uſually accompanied with [illegible] *merry ſongs*, and *tales*) becauſe they themſelves ſpent moſt time in *practiſing* it, I ſhall be bold to ſpend a little the more in relating it.

b or ἐπαίκλα.

c *Coronas Convivii.*

CAP. VI.

De Cantu Conviviali & Saltu.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, ſpeake againſt the uſe of Muſick at a *Feaſt*, and *Euripides* ſay, it were better uſed at a *Funerall*, to make the Mourners merry: yet you ſhall find *Xenophon* himſelf (in himſelfe) *commending*, and *Phemius* (in *Homer*) *practiſing* the ſame. Now the cuſtome was when they came to the dancing and the Muſick (whereas at *Meale-time* leſſe cupps would ſerve) *then* to have greater, and a *freſh* bowle (κρατῆρα) to begin with; for ſuch a one they had at every *change*, if they obſerved that faſhion we read of in *Euripides.*

Odyſſ. I.

[illegible] ὐθ᾽ [illegible] τι,
Καιθ᾽ [illegible] λέξον, [illegible] χερσίν
Οἴνους [illegible] μεγαλαλ᾽ [illegible] εἰσφέρειν.

In Ion. v. 1377.

The ſong moſt common among them was *Harmodius*: ſo ed (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, as we call *our* ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was g to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two ous *Tyrannicidæ*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *ſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it ported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beaſtly* a name as *Le-*) ſo faithfully loved their bodies, that when ſhe was rackt the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a ce of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit in his face. The ginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλτατ᾽ Ἁρμόδιε, [illegible] θνηκας, &c. You have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *A- penſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *metus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus*, (for moſt of ir ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the iſe of one famous worthy or other.) It began thus, Ἀδ- του λόγον ὦ ἑταῖρε μαθὼν, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλει, τῶν δειλῶν δ᾽ ἀπέχου where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθοὺς to δειλοὺς. For you ſhall find κακὸς, commonly for a Coward in Heathen iters, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour* and *titude*, the only *virtue* worthy the name. Beſides theſe two ich I have named, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch Authours, under the name of Σκόλια. I will only give you whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, againſt

Ὤφελές σ᾽ ὦ τυφλὲ Πλοῦτε
Μήτ᾽ ἐν γῇ μήτ᾽ ἐν θαλάττῃ μήτ᾽ ἐν ἠπείρῳ
φανήμεναι
Ἀλλὰ Τάρταρόν τε ναίειν κ᾽ Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντ᾽ ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά.

Vid. Sc. in Ariſtoph. Ran.

Theſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt in- ted by one [*] *Terpander*. They were ſo called either firſt

[*] Plutarch. de muſ.

διὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν κλινῶν σκολιάν (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ranæ*,) from the *crooked* placing of the beds, and the lying of the gueſts upon them. Or elſe 2. (as the Scholy ſayes upon the ſame Poet in *Veſpis*) from the *flexuous* diſorderly manner in the ſinging. For there were in uſe among the Greeks (ſaies * *Dicæarchus περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*) three waies of ſinging ſongs at ſuch meetings, the firſt *ὑπὸ πάντων*, by all together. the 2. *κατ' ἕνα*, by one after another in order as they ſate, the 3. one after another, but *ἐπαλλάξ*, not in order, and *ὑπὸ συνετωτάτων*, either by ſuch as had beſt skill, or by ſuch as he that ſung laſt, ſhould pleaſe to chuſe. I ſay to chuſe; for in ſinging a *Scholium*, as tis properly uſed, this was the cuſtome. He that *Scholied* firſt, took him a Mirtle rod, called *αἴσακος* from *ᾄδειν* and *ἔχειν*, & holding it in his hand like a *thyrſus*, (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*,) begun in any place of *Simonides*, or *Steſichorus*, or *Æſchylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleaſed. The verſes which they ſung, they called by the name of *μυῤῥινία*, or *ῥαβδῳδία*, or *σκολιὰ*, from the *ὄζοι*, of the rods, as being *a virga*, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the tother left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off beſt, and have *caps* the reſt, had his *ᾠδεῖον* (as they called it) *i. e.* a *cup*, or ſome ſuch thing for his reward. Unleſſe they ſung ſome of *Homers* verſes, for then both the bough was *Laurell*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called *ἀρνῳδοὶ* as well as *Homeriſtæ*. Others ſay it was the cuſtome preſently after taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and every one as he was beſt able, or as his mind gave him, to ſing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand beſides. A third reaſon of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) *viz.* becauſe the *eye*, and the underſtanding of thoſe that ſing, were by over-ſtrong drinke become *σκολιὰ*, or *διεστραμμένα*, *diſtorted*,

* Schol. in Ran.

Euſtath. Il. 1.

Σχ. Ariſtoph. in Nub.

…rted, as they are in Mad-men ([illegible] ὀρθῶν, [illegible] ὀρθῆς [illegible], …s eyes, and a right mind, are put a together in the Poet.) The ſong was called Σκόλιον, (ſaies the b Scholiaſt) by the …igure Antiphraſis, becauſe it was leaſt difficult of any, and … ὀλιγόστιχον, conſiſting of a few ſtaves. But this etymolo-…y in another place of the ſame book is utterly diſliked, τὸ γὰρ [illegible], ἀλλ' οὐ [illegible], becauſe … Figure Antiphraſis, is alwayes by way of Euphemy, to give a … thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name. …rigen (they ſay) wrote a Poem, wherein he briefly compri-…ed all ſuch things, as ſeemed to be intricate and perplexe, and …ve it the title of Scolia. c Pericles is ſaid to have made his …awes, in the manner of Scolies, I think not for any obſcurity … the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not oppoſed (what ever it may ſeeme to be) …o that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον μέλος (which might be ſung by …e alone, whereas the Scolies could not) ſo called, not becauſe … was ſung right along, and in order: but either becauſe the …erſons ſung ὄρθια, that is, (as Suidas expounds it) alta & ere-…a voce, with a long blaſt, (like the trumpet in Judges c. 7. 5.) …r becauſe it was ſung κατὰ νόμον ὄρθιον, which I know not what …y it was, but that Herodotus ſaies Arion plaid after that …y upon the ſhip, and Euſtathius and Suidas, ſay that Timo-…eus playing after that manner to Alexander [illegible] &c. So moved his ſpirit, that he lept immediately to his …rmes and took them up to fight. Inſtead of Scolies, ſometimes …u ſhould have whole Comedies acted, and then none ſo ſoon … Menander's.

But amidſt all this jollity, to put them in mind of the …angeableneſſe and uncertainty of their conditions, (for …is they ſay was the uſe as they made of them) they had their [illegible], oſcilla, or oſcicula, like thoſe which they uſe at Rome … the feaſt Sigillaria, or ſuch as d Auguſtus is ſaid to have …id with (talis aut oſciculis ludebat cum pueris) things ſo arti-…ally made with joynts and pins, that in ſo many throwes

a Soph. in Oed. Tyr.

b In Ranis.

c Σχ. Ariſt. in Ran.

d Suet. c. 83.

they would yeeld you a thouſand ſhapes, of *mouthes*, or *fa* *Petronius* having at a certain feaſt, thrown thoſe things on the table, preſently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might.

Heu, heu nos miſeros, quam totus homuncio nil eſt?
Sic erimus cuncti poſtquam nos auferet orcus,
Ergo vivamus dum licet eſſe bene.

And juſt ſo the Ægyptians us'd at feaſts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one πῖνε ϗ τέρπεο, ἔσῃ γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος, *to eat and drink, for to morrow he ſhould die.* Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Gueſt* or for an *Alien*, ſo it were not a *god*, was alwaies had in ſo religious eſteem at *Athens*, ὡς ἀσεβῆ ϗ ἐναγῆ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ὃς ἂν ἀδικοίη ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholiaſt* ſaith upon *Euripides*) *if any one wronged a ſtranger*, he *was look'd upon as a profane accurſed fellow*: according to the Poet himſelf in another * place. * In Helen.

—Let go the ſtrangers hands,
Which being ſacred may not be in bands.

In Taur. v. 468.

And good reaſon, for —πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες
Ξεῖνοι— all ſtrangers have *Jupiters* own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* ſo *malus*, as Ξεναπάτη. Now this eſteeme they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of Ζεὺς ὁ ξένιος, or φιλόξενος, you may call him *Jupiter hoſpes*: for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphoſis* ſpeaks of *Jovis hoſpitis Ara* an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhoſpitall people, for *their brutiſh inhumanity*, are ſaid to have been turn'd into *Ceraſtas*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius* as much as he was for the ſtrangers, was notwithſtanding better known and honoured then any of the *Jupiters* beſides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξενίου Διὸς πολλαὶ *L. 10. Fab. 6.

αἱ

[illegible], as if he had cared more for them then other people.

Jupiter hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. — Virg. Æn. 1.

I remember indeed once to ſhew how well he was pleaſed with that virtue of hoſpitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body elſe would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preſerved the houſe from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expreſly commanded them τοὺς ξένους μὴ ἀδικεῖν, *not to wrong a ſtranger.* And this made *Ariſtippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, preſently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay ſaies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis ſancitum eſt &c.* (ſpeaking of refuſall to ſhew a ſtranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations.* — Xenoph. l. 3. [illegible] — L. de Offic.

If a *ſtranger* had received any wrong (becauſe they might not be ſo *familiar* as to do it themſelves) there were προστάτας, allowed of purpoſe to plead for them, as well as πρόξενοι to entertain them. Unleſſe you will ſay that theſe laſt officers were not for ξένοι, that is *hoſpites*, ſuch as tarried a while and away: but for ξένοι, that is μέτοικοι, *inquilini*, ſuch as ſet up their habitation in the place where they came. For thoſe were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearly rent to the City, the men twelve, and the Women * ſix Drachmes: which if they did not pay, they ſold them; and put them into the ſhips for gally ſlaves, as not reckoning them *cleane* corne, and true Citizens, any more then * *Ariſtotle*; but only (in the words of *Ariſtophanes*) ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστῶν *the out-caſts and chaffe*, and no more. Even the *Cretians* themſelves (as *evill beaſts* as they were) ſeem to have had *humanity* enough in this reſpect. Otherwiſe what meant their ξενικὰς τραπέζας, two diſtinct Tables, and a Ch[illegible] kept a purpoſe for ſtrangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, ſo much valued the hoſpitality ſhewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to ſpare his houſe alone.

* Iſæus contr. Elpagor.

* L. 3. Polit.

Athenæus.

I muſt confeſſe indeed the *Lacedæmonians* heare but ill for their ξενηλασίαν, and *Lycurgus* his Law againſt admittance of ſtrangers, but upon certain dayes, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *Pace*) brand them with the name of [illegible]. Nay it is ſaid how that they never made any [illegible], (as they called it) *free of their City*, but only two, *viz. Tiſamenus* the Poet, and his brother Hegias. But ſtill I hope, their ξένοι *ſtrangers*, were all one with οἱ βάρβαροι *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often uſed, ſaies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiaſt upon *Homer*. For elſe certainly *Plato* would never have given ſuch commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of (as we uſually take it) *policy* as it is inconſiſtent with the *name of* πολιτεία, to care moſt for ones *private* good.

CAP. VIII.

De hoſpitibus excipiendis.

If the Athenians were ſo kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every ſtranger*, properly ſo called: what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their *own ſtrangers* (as we uſe to call it) or to their ſworn *gueſts*? Thoſe had their ἀστράγαλον, or σύμβολον, or *teſſeram hoſpitii*, ſomething or other like a ticket, to ſhew for their quarter when they came; ſuch as *Jaſon* in curteſy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

ξένοις τε πέμπειν σύμβολ' οἳ δράσουσί σ' εὖ.

So farre were the ξενοδόχοι, thoſe that entertained gueſts (you may call them ξένοι too, for it is a name for both, like *hoſpes*, perhaps to ſhew their near relation) from ſo much as ſuſpecting a returne of hatred for kindneſſe, that it coſt *Dion* no leſſe then his life. Who th[illegible]e were forwarned of an intention of *Callippus* his gueſt to [illegible]urther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθεὶς, *being aſhamed* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de Vitioſo pudore*) φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, to *beware* re of one that was his friend and *gueſt* too (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining a ſtranger was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him, a δεῖπνον ἀπαγγέλλοντο πρῶτον, the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eate. *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnam*, ſaies b *Terence*. When he came to the doore (as ſome ſay) they both joyned feet on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad hoſtium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* And therefore *hoſpes* is ſaid to be derived from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium a doore*, and *pes a foot.* When he came in, they called for the *Strangers bottle* (as he ſaies in c *Electra*, ἀσκὸν ἐν φέρω ξένοις (and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (ſaith *Athenæus*,) ὡς τὴν ξενίαν αὐτὴν τιμῶντες, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἐν μέρει, *as giving him honour becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* Now they uſed Wine, rather then any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author) becauſe they took it to be, θαλπτικόν τι πρὸς φιλίαν, προσαναθερμαῖνον τὴν ψυχὴν &c. *Powerfull to warme the affection too, as well as the ſtomack.*

a *Pindar.*
b *In Heaut.*
Vetus Diction.
c *Eurip.* v. 511.
Idem.
Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſo ſeaſoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. All the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had. They made their own daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay, and to bring him Water in a Baſin, and waſh his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by ſeverall places in *Homer* both obſerved and applauded by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient cuſtome παλαιὸν Ὁμήρου ἔθος καὶ τὰς κόρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας λούειν τοὺς ξένους: ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῦτο ἔθος (ſaith he) 2. They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers apart from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the d Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted ἀσχημον, ſo unfit

L. 1.
d *V.* 545.

muſic to be ſeen by the ſacred eyes of a ſtranger (as he there ſaies) was therefore about to be gone againe, replyed; *no ſuch need, good Hercules, notwithſtanding the mourning in the houſe.*

Χωρὶς ξενῶνές εἰσιν, οἷς σ' εἰσάξομεν *For we have Chambers on the other ſide of the houſe which we keep only for ſtrangers, and you ſhall be there.*

3ly, When they ſate at Meales, they had a table alſo to themſelves: as may be conjectured by that which *Oreſtes* had at his being at *Athens*.

Eurip. Electr. v. 849.

——ξένια μονοτράπεζά μοι
Παρέσχον οἶκοι.——

Laſtly they had τὰς κεφαλίδας *places* allowed them at the *ſhews*, inſtituted by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to returne reſpect againe to the people of the houſe: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, ſaluting the ground with a kiſſe.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaq́ oſcula terræ
Figit, & ignotos montes, agroſq́ ſalutat.

Ovid. Met. l. 3.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine ſervice, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς unto *their* gods eſpecially, or the gods of the *place*: as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themſelves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to do θεοὺς τοὺς κατ' οἴκους (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *houſe*. In like manner, at his going out of the Country, when he came to the borders he kiſſed the ground, and ſo took his leave of the *Genius*; as *Ovid ſaies*,

Id. Herc. O. 609

Met. l. 13.

——*dant oſcula terræ Troades*——

Whenſoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detaine him. *Menelaus* accordingly practiſed, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν.

And parting they uſually gave ξεινήϊα δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, ſome thing or other for a remembrance; or to beare their charges by the way. Beſides every mans private benevolence, there

was

τὸ πανδοχεῖον, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murtherer or such like person, they might not by any means εἰς ὁμωρόφιον (as he calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being [illegible].

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also, of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poore. And certainly if they intended no more then the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; * of whom *Isocrates* saies in his *Areopag.* [illegible], *that he is a disparagement to the City wherein he lives.* To prevent the disgrace, every [illegible] or *Society*, kept a poor-mans box, or a common Treasury, for the reliefe of such as came to poverty, and the ransome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they used εἰσφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum* (as *Plautus* saies *eranum amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐράνου πληρωταί. He that thus came a *gathering* (as we call it) was said συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸν ἔρανον, as in *Aristotle* (*Acroas. l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this instance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happened by chance*; if a creditor, ἐλθὼν τοῦ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἦλθεν ἂν κομιζομένου τὸν ἔρανον, *with his Bond in his hand should come to his debtor for mony, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the parish* (as we say) *for a collection.* Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον παππῷον, appointed by *Aristides* for those that assisted him in the Warre against the *Medes*, of which *Aristophanes* in his *Lysistrate.* If there hapned any controver-

* That there may be no poor among yoske. *Deuteron.* 15. 4. *So some render.* בך אפס כי לא / אביון יהיה

sie

ly in this buſineſſe, there were δίκαι ἐρανικαὶ, Lawes and Writs made for the purpoſe.

* L.9. de Leg.

Plato ſpeaks very well of this * cuſtome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his anſwer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the uſe thereof to the *Amiſeni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) eo facilius, ſi tali Collatione &c.

Other proviſion there was beſides this *eranus*, for their reliefe. For the richer ſort were wont every new moon, to make a great feaſt of Bread, and other courſe fare for this purpoſe. Which feaſt being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occaſion to them to call every courſe beggerly feaſt, by the name of Hecates *cœna*. But as bad as the fare was, the *perſon* in *Pluto Ariſtophanis*, took his argument even from thence, to commend the condition of the poore, above that of the rich. Saies he —— παρὰ τῆς Ἑκάτης ἔξεστι τοῦτο πυθέσθαι
Εἴτε τὸ πλουτεῖν, εἴτε τὸ πεινῆν βέλτιον &c.

Aske Hecate *and ſhe will tell which is beſt.* To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, mony allowed them out of the Treaſury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and *Shews*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

HAving ſpoken of the cuſtomes uſed by the Athenians amongſt *themſelves*, it will be fitting in the next place to ſay ſomething of thoſe which they uſed towards their *enemies*; and after that of thoſe towards either, or both, in Divinations.

The Warlike proviſion which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being Liſted *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time 'till twenty, ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις (as they called it) that is, they muſt be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they muſt περιπολεῖν τὰ περὶ πόλιν φρούρια ſtand ſentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works and the like: according to that of * *Terence*, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit, nam ibi cuſtos publicè eſt nunc*. The firſt of the two yeares they kept within the City, but the ſecond they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a ſhield, and a Speare, and a χλαμύδα

Harpocr.

* In Eunuch.

or Coat for a Livery. During theſe two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight ὑπερορίους, *without the Liberties.* But ever after till forty they might. And both the firſt, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, regiſtred in this manner, ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐπωνύμου. *Such a one in pay ever ſince ſuch a one was Arcon Eponymus*: to ſhew how long every man had been in ſervice. Of theſe Ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called ἐπώνυμοι λήξεων, from the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον, in which they liſted their names after they were twenty years old; and ſometimes ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, because they thus kept a note of every mans *age*; in oppoſition to Ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes.* Now ſome there were that were *exempted*, and ſome that were *excluded* from that ſervice: the former were ſuch as Cuſtom-holders οἱ τὸ τέλος πριάμενοι, who therefore had the priviledge τῆς ἀτελείας: or the χορευταί, *i. e.* οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ χορεύοντες. *Bacchus his Salii*, or *dancing Prieſts.* The latter were οἱ δοῦλοι ſlaves, and all ſuch *proletarious* People who were not to be imployed but in caſe of neceſſity, nor had the honour ἐν καταλόγῳ στρατεύεσθαι, which the others had. For *they*, as ſoon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus* ἐν [illegible], were liſted by the Πολέμαρχος, or Generall (as many as he κατέλεγεν *made choice of*, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the κατάλογος, or Muſter-role, which he kept for the ſame purpoſe, having beſide that another πίναξ or Table-book, for ſuch as were *Emeriti out of ſervice*, and diſcharged. After they had been liſted by the Generall, they were to be liſted again by the under Officers, the ὁπλῖται, or the foot by the ταξίαρχοι, and the Horſe-men by the φύλαρχοι. The ὁπλῖται were of three ſorts. First thoſe more eſpecially ſo called, ſuch as uſed much armour, [illegible], and were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. 2ly Ψιλοὶ,

Vlpian. ad Olynth.

Ariſtot. de Rep. Ath.

Levis armaturæ milites, ſuch as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the ſling. And the Πελτασταὶ, a middle ſort between both, with their πέλτας or ἀσπιδίσκας, *narrow Shields, and ſhort Speares.* Such as they made choyce of for Horſe-men, were to be δυνατώτατοι τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι (ſaies *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purſe*, and therefore were to be examined firſt by the *Senate* of 500, before they could be liſted; and ſo were likewiſe the Horſes themſelves, to try whether they were λακτίζοντες *skittiſh*, or ψοφοδεεῖς (as the Scholiaſt calls it) *Noyſe-proofe.* And this they did τῷ κώδωνος ψόφῳ, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle-drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I ſhall render it. And now I am put in mind of the Κώδων, which they uſed to make a noyſe withall, when they did περιπολεῖν *walke the round* to try whether the Guards were aſleep or no, which they called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζειν.

——Κωδωνοφορῶν τις, περιῆλθε
Φυλακὰς ἐπισκοπῶν

Inſomuch that Κωδωνίζειν, is uſed for the ſame with Πειράζειν, *to try, or prove* (as in *Ariſtophanis Batrachis*, ὦ πονηρὲ, κωδωνίζω) and ἀκωδώνιστον for ἀπείραστον *intentatum*. (As in *Lyſiſtrate*, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ... ἔλεγχε ... ἀκωδώνιστον ἐᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα ...) If a Horſe had been τετρυμμένος *worne and beaten out* with long ſervice, they marked him in the Jaw with the ſign of a *Trochus* (*a wheele* I think) and gave him his τρυσίππιον; for ſo they called both the mark and the diſcharge it ſelfe: whence came the proverb uſed by *Eupolis* ἄφες ... μοι ... τρυσίππιον, to give a man his τρυσίππιον, that is his *diſcharge*. All their Horſes the Greeks reckoned to be conſecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the *Kings*, gives this reaſon, *Audientes Græci ab Iſraelitis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Helias curru igneo, & equis igneis ſit ad cæleſtes tranſlatus (vel certe hoc ipſum iconem alicubi depictum in pariete viderunt) crediderunt vicinia decepti nominis Solis hic tranſitum per cælos eſſe deſignatum, & mirabilem divinitatis factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* becauſe

Hesyſh.

Helias

lias once was carried up to Heaven with Horſes, therefore *Helios* or the Sun, muſt be thought to have horſes conſecrated to his ſervice for ever after.

1. Poll. l. 8. c. 10.

The horſe-men, firſt, ſome were *Δίμαχαι*, that had two *waies to fight*, with Armour for the purpoſe, and a boy to hold their horſe while they fought a foot (a faſhion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) 2. Some were *ἱππαγωγοὶ*, that had two *Horſes*, one to ride upon, and the other to lead from *ἀγωγή*. Their manner of life was very high and ſtately, for many times they would *πομπεύειν*, that is, have a *tranſvection*, or ride into the City in Pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, uſually called by the name of a *ξυστὶς*, as it is in theſe verſes.

> Ὅταν σὺ μέγας ὢν ἅρμ' ἐλαύνῃς πρὸς πόλιν
> Ὥσπερ Μεγακλέης ξυστίδ' ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horſe, or ſit in the chaire. *Aurigæ* then were called *ἱππεῖς*, and were better then *παραβάται*, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horſe-men was greater or leſſe, according to the number of the people. Otherwiſe (as *Pollux* ſaith) every *ναυκραρία* (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Moſt of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *aſſidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, inſomuch that they reckond it a very diſgracefull thing to be *ærarii*, or *metelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, becauſe it was ſo often changed, I think I had better be ſilent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be *ἀβροδιαίτους*, *dainty* and to weare long haire, as ſome ſay: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχωσιν ἐκ τοῦ συνεγγὺς ἀντιλαβὴν τοῖς πολεμίοις, *that the enemy might have no holdfaſt*, ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Theſeus*, where he ſaies alſo that the faſhion being firſt uſed by *Theſeus* was therefore called [illegible].

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus viri proſulſabant.

THE firſt makers of Armour are ſaid to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the firſt was Braſſe, ſaies [a] *Pauſanias*, but for want of Iron, ſaies *Heſiod*.

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

The moſt noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the *coat of Maile*. The moſt noted thing in the Helmet, was the *Creſt*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alcæus*, Καρικὸς λόφος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was faſtend they called σφήκωμα, and to faſten it σφηκῶσαι.

Πλοχμοί θ' οἳ χρυσῷ τ' ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο.

The Creſt was double or treble, according to the quality of the perſon. For if he were an *heros* it might be treble, ſaies [b] *Euripides*, and *quadruple*, ſaies [c] *Apollonius*.

Τετράφαλος φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπιλάμπετο πήληξ.

The ſtuffe whereof it was made, was uſually feathers, and the haire of a Horſe-taile; and thence it is that it is called ἱππουρις, and ἱππόκομος τρυφάλεια in [d] *Theocritus*; and that it is ſaid [e] πτερορρυεῖν when the haire fell off. The other parts of the Helmet have the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρύες the *eyebrows*, and the reſt, except the *Penthouſe* τὸ γεῖσον. Of the *Shields*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of ſeverall kinds, for ſometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil*.

—*flectunt q; Salignas*
Umbonum crates——— (but then they called it ἰτέαν) and ſometimes of wood: but moſt commonly of raw Oxe hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid

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[a] In Lacon.

Homer.

[b] In Oreſt.

[c] L. 2.

[d] Id. 23.

[e] *Ariſtoph. Pace.*

Æn. 7.

Heſych.

laid one upon the other. [illegible] *Ajax* had *ſeptemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had ſeven pieces of or foldings [illegible], and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Braſſe beſides, as that of *Achilles* was,

—& æs & proxima rupit
Terga novem boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum eſt.

a Troad. v. 1336. And therefore in a *Euripides* it is called χαλκόνωτος ἀσπίς. For the forme of it, it was ſometimes long, ſometimes round, and ſometimes ſquare. The names of the ſeverall parts of it you may have in *I Pollux L.* 1. c. 10. Only thus much I may tell you, firſt for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curioſity, both for ſhew and for uſe, as having [illegible] ornaments to be ſeen, and [illegible] little holes to ſee others by, ſet in the *rim*, or the bottom. And 2ly, For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called [illegible], or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the *Cares*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it, καρικοεργὲς ὄχανον: and ſo were likewiſe the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, Strabo l. 14. and moſt of the reſt. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they uſed to put a Shield and a Creſt into the grave along with him. The *Armes*, (ἐπίσημα, or σήματα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Ulyſſes* had his [illegible]; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a [illegible] the [illegible] to the *Sunne*. But the *Heroes* an-* Ariſtoph. in Ran. ciently, and for the moſt part, uſed to beare Eagles, [illegible]. To the Armes, they added *verſes* in commendation of the proweſſe of the Perſon, by which he deſerved thoſe *Armes*, and the name of the maker; ſuch as *Pauſanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *caſe* or *Theca* In Eliacis. wherein the ſhield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *caſes*, according to that in Eur. v. 617. *Andromache*.

κάλλιστα τεύχη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι

L. 21. c. 14. *Rhodiginus* ſaies, that in the uſe of the ſhield, there were ſome things which they obſerved to be *ominous*; for if it happened end to ſtrike their knees, they counted it lucky : but if they ſtruck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill ſigne.—The moſt famous ſhield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Aegiochus*, named Αἰγὶς, becauſe he covered it with the skin of his nurſe the goate called *Amalthea*, this ſhield he beſtowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *aſtoniſhing* head of *Meduſa*. Whether that *Ægidion ſacrum* which *Alexander* is ſaid to have ſtolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the ſame with this or no, I know not. Their ſhields when they laid them up in the Temples : (as the faſhion was alſo for the other ſorts of armes) they ſuffered not to have their πόρπακας *handles*, (or ſome ſuch neceſſary appurtenance) that ſo in caſe there ſhould be any inſurrection, they might be the leſſe ready for uſe ; which was the cauſe why he in the Poet cryed out ſo as he did, when he ſaw it otherwiſe.

Οἴμοι τάλας ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρπακας.

For ſaies another a little before,

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον ἐκ προνοίας
Ταύτας ἐᾶν αὐτοῖσι τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀνατεθῆναι.

The *Coats of Maile* were of three ſorts, the firſt ζῶμα, which reached from the navell to the knees : the ſecond Ἡμιθωράκιον, which covered halfe the breſt, ſuch as *Polyænus* reports to have bin much uſed by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third θώραξ, which reached from the ſhoulders to the navell, ſo called ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦτορ αἰρεῖν, from *preſerving* the *heart*, and the breſt : from which peculiar office of it, *Ariſtophanes in Acharnenſibus*, borrowes the word θωρήξασθαι, for to ſignify to be well nigh drunk, (as we ſay when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed againſt the cold.) and ἀκροθώραξ, to ſignifie ἀκροθώρακα *drunk to the top*. Now a *Thorax* was either στάδιος, *all of one piece*, plaited like [illegible] *vella tunica* : or elſe ἁλυσιδωτὸς, with *chaines* or plaites of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coates of Maile.) The *leather* I ſay, becauſe it was uſually made of a hide (τὸ

Etymol.

[illegible]) at the *Scaia* were, they [illegible]

[illegible]

Aristoph. in Pace.

So they ſay that the Latine word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dryed and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnantis operit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Ariſtophanes* calls θαλαμιὰς, by a Metaphor from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

The *Colour* moſt in uſe upon their Armes, Cloathes, or Creſts, &c. was crimſon red; either to make themſelves the leſſe afraid, if they ſaw their blood, being uſed to the colour; or elſe that the enemy might be the leſſe able to perceive it, if they ſhould chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnicean* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Creſt, or what is it?) φοινικίδα. In alluſion to whoſe *red bloody* colour, the Poet in

Ariſtoph. in Pace.

Acharnenſes ſpeaking of having a fellow beaten till the bloud came, thus expreſſes it.

Μὴ [illegible] εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's card him, and work him, and belabour him, till we make his skinne like a φοινικίδα.

Idem.
Ibid.

To carry their *Proviſion* in, every man had his γύλιον, or [illegible] a kind of *basket* (*fiſcina*) made of Oziers ([illegible]) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poet having uſed the word γύλιον, to ſignifie ſuch a thing, in the ſame Comedy uſes the word γυλιαύχενας, to ſignifie *men that had a neck as long as that thing*. Their ordinary proviſion was Cheeſe, and Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly ſo much as would ſerve for three dayes, according to that of the ſame Poet ſtill, and in the ſame Comedy, where ſpeaking againſt the troubleſome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons it *viz.*

[illegible] ἡμερῶν τριῶν)

Thoſe too often repeated *orders for three dayes proviſion.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armory*, or the *Weapons* they uſed to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (uſed alſo for the putting of Malefactors to death) called by * *Homer* φάλαγγας, according to that of *Horace*,

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fuſtibus; atq; ita porro
Pugnabant armis quæ poſt fabricaverat uſus.

Odyſ. 1.

* Il. 4.

But afterward they came to Speares, a weapon ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome would not ſtick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Euſtathius*. ἐν ἀρχῇ μόνον [illegible] εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀκόντιον θεὸν τῶν [illegible] ἀριθμεῖν. Where ἀριθμεῖν, ſome ſay ſignifies to worſhip (and ſo they ſay of the word *numerare*, uſed by *Cicero* in his Book *De Nat. Deorum. Novi ego Epicureos omnia ſigilla numerantes.*) Thus it is reported of one *Pheræus Alexander* a tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crowned it with Garlands, and cauſed it to be adored by the name of τύχων. One would have thought it ſufficiently honoured, to be uſed by Kings inſteed of Scepters, as *Juſtin* ſaith it was; or at moſt to *have a place* in the Temple; or elſe to have been *dedicated* to a god, as *Plutarch* ſaith it was to *Pallas*, (becauſe of πάλλειν, the proper word for ἀκόντιον) and to be joyned to the ſtatute of the god: for ſo it commonly was among the Latines eſpecially; whence it came that *haſtæ motæ*, *ſhaking of the Speares*, ſo often ſpoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted ſuch a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the reſpect they gave to them will ſufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. For when they ſlept in the field they faſtned it ἐν σαυρωτῆρι, which *Pollux* interprets, the *but-end* of the Speare, made (it may be) with a *croſſe* for the better hold-faſt; *quaſi* σταυρωτῆρες from σταυρός. But *Euſtathius* *us* ſaith it was an iron with a ſharpe taile like a ſnake, to be ſet in the ground, and hollow head, to ſet the ſpeare in, from *σαῦρος Lacerta* a *Lizard*, which it reſembled. When they came home, they ſet it in a long wooden *caſe*, made of purpoſe by a pillar of the houſe.

Odyſſ. 1.

Ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν
Δουροδόκης ἔντοσθεν ἐϋξόου——

ſaies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Æn. 12.

Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columna
Ædibus aſtabat, validam vi corripit haſtam.

The cuſtome firſt *πάλλειν* to *vibrate* the Speare before they uſed it, to try the ſtrength of it, was ſo conſtantly kept, that by *ἐγχέσπαλος*, a *ſhake-ſpeare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to ſignifie a *Souldier*. When the Greeks began the uſe of Bowes, I know not: but it ſeems they had ſuch things, and *Heſychius* in the word *ἱππεῖα*, ſaies they made the *ſtrings* of *Horſes haire*. Swords likewiſe they had, which they uſed to hang by their ſides, *διὰ τελαμώνων* by *belts*, or ſtrings of leather, as they did the ſhields: and the ſtrings came over the ſhoulders as ours do.

Euſt. on Il. γ.
Heſiod.

Ὤμοισι δέ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ ἔκειτο.

What other offenſive armes they had I know not. But the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled moſt in the *defenſive*: and that the Barbarians were better at the offenſive.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, conſulendi deos, obſervandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affaires, I cannot find but that they did, *properè ſequi quæ piget inchoare*, beare a greater affection to *Peace*: as may appeare in their honourable receiving of Embaſſadors, to whom they give *hearing* in no worſe place then a *Temple*, [a] and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum*. The uſuall Enſigne carryed by Greek Embaſſadors, was κηρύκιον *caduceus a right ſtaffe* of wood with ſnakes twiſted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether this was to affright them from diſcord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a ſeed of diſſention ſometime ſown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) is but στοχάζεται my *conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *ſoon ſhot* to hit the marke. An Embaſſadours allowance, was two δραχμαὶ a day, which they uſually called τὸ πορεῖον. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they muſt needs have warre; yet they would be ſure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marcht. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to ſend a fellow of purpoſe, either to caſt a Speare, or to let Looſe a Lamb into the borders of the Country, or into the City it ſelfe, whether they were Marching (which *Heſychius* rather thinks to have been the *ſignall* before a battle) thereby ſhewing them μηλόβοτον αὐτῶν τὴν ἰδίαν ἔσεσθαι κ τὴν πόλιν, that what was then a habitation for *men*, ſhould be ſhortly a paſture for *ſheep*, and what was then paſture for their *own* ſheep, ſhould be ſhortly turned to the uſe of their *enemies*. Before they ſet forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; conſidering, and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods muſt be Sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners ſought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City ſearcht into: for this courſe the [b] Tragœdian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the coming of *Euriſtheus*. Then beſides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewiſh, Latine, and Perſian

a Demoſth. π. παραπρεσβ.

Etym.

x. Homer in *Batrachom.*

Diogenian.

[b] Πόλεις τ' ἐν ὅπλοις σφάγιά τε ἑτοιμασμένα, Ἕστηκεν, ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα τέμνεσθαι θεοῖς. Θυηπολοῦνται δ' ἄστυ μάντεων ὕπο Τροπαῖα τ' ἐχθρῶν κ πόλει σωτήρια. Χρησμῶν δ' ἀοιδοὺς πάντας εἰς ἓν ἁλίσας Ἤλεγξα κ βέβηλα κ κεκρυμμένα Λόγια παλαιὰ τῇδε γῇ σωτήρια.

ſian, they uſed to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and conſecrated to the gods, in caſe they prevailed: ſuch as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vowes of the like price. Nay the Athenians were ſo over-laviſh in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, teſtifying the gods diſlike of ſuch courſes, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they ſuperſtitious in the obſervation of *daies*. For as the *Lacedæmonians* thought it not good to march ἐν τοῖς περιπολάτοις, till the *full* of the Moone: ſo neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐν ταῖς ἑβδόμαις, till the *ſeventh* day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In Marching, the Generall uſed alwaies ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δεξιὸν, to *keep himſelf on the right horne, or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (ἐκ ἀπολογῆς) kept themſelves ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις, *in thoſe parts*, or thoſe *Corpora* (as the Romans called them) which were leſſe in danger, ſuch kind of ſervice was from thence called στρατεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and ſometimes περιπολία. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be ſure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια. No paſſing without a prayer,

—— πρίν γ' εὔξῃ ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥέεθρα.

The Romans alwaies obſerved the like cuſtome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremnè auſpicari*.

χ. Ariſtoph. in Eq.
Herodot.
Suidas.
Heſiod. l. 2.
Feſtus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi prælium, & de uſu tubarum.

χ. In Eurip. Phœn.

When they fought a Battle, after they had killed a *victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*: for πυρφόροι ἀντὶ σαλπιγκτῶν, inſteed of ſounding a Trumpet, they had fellowes whom they called πυρφόρους, that went before with Torches, and throwing them down in the midſt between the two Armies, gave the ſigne.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo
Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Statius Th. 4

Lycophron in his ἐχθρᾶς γὰρ πυρσὸν, and *Pindar* in ὕμνων πυρσὸν, ſeem to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. Now this buſineſſe they might do ſafely, and without any danger, ἀνεχείρων ἀπόλυτοι. For the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted *ſacred*, * ἱεροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ: inſomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, οὐδὲ ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη. Thoſe *Torches Euripides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας, where he ſaies that the *Achivi avoided* them, that is, refuſed to fight.

* χ. in Eurip. Phœn. ἐσώζοντο γὰρ οἱ πυρφόροι, εἰ καὶ πάντες ἀπώλοντο.

——πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας ἐξήρθης κλύων.
Φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.
Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos.

(better in my mind then *Qui, audiens ignis faces accenſas adductus eſt, ut credat fugere &c.*) Nay, not only when they would ſignifie their intentions to *fight* with the enemy, *to the enemy himſelfe*: but alſo when they would ſignifie his approach to *others*, to have their aſſiſtance, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called φρυκτούς. The word rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or *Beacons* if you will, for they were made of dry wood, or ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men ſtill who did φρυκτωρεῖν *keep* φρυκτωρίας *Watches*, in the * Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day, they raiſed a ſmoake. But I muſt tell you, there were φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their friends too; as well as πολέμιοι. But with this diſtinction, that φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill: but the πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro.

χ. In Homer Il. σ.

* Καὶ φρυκτωρίας ἐν τοῖσι πύργοις Ariſtoph. in Avib.

But thoſe Torches *laſted* not alwaies. For afterwards they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of *Æſchylus*

Σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν.

In Perſis.

In- or *accendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been firſt brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an aſſiſtant to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place. a πρῶτος δ' Ἀρχίδας συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἤγαγε τὴν τυρσηνικὴν σάλπιγγα εἰς Ἕλληνας. And therefore he calls the Trumpet τυρσηνικὴν, *viz.* from the inventers; As the Poet himſelfe had done before, both in his *Phœniſſa*, and his *Heraclidæ*: where he ſaies it was uſed when they joyned Battle, and that then it ſounded b ὄρθιον *a long blaſt*, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before.) There was a time when ſhields did ſerve for Trumpets *conchaq́; ſonantes*: and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*.

Ἤδη γὰρ κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἴκαδε νεκρὸς
Τεθνηκὼς ζωῷ φθεγγόμενος στόματι.

In Phœn.

a Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήμην' ὄρθιον τυρσηνικῇ Σάλπιγγι, καὶ συνῆψαν ἀλλήλοις μάχην. v. 830.

b C. 6. 5.

CAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis & præmiis & Sepulturâ.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the newes was adorned with c Garlands. In the mean time thoſe that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, uſed to ſacrifice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ εἶεν, ἐπινεύσωσιν ταύταις, ἐὰν δὲ τοὐναντίον, ἀποτρέψωσιν, *If it were good, to bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and ſtop it.* For cloſe conveying of the intelligence I ſuppoſe they had ſeverall waies. Whether they made uſe of the *Lacedemonians* σκυτάλην, I know not. If you pleaſe, you may read the deſcription thereof in A. *Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he ſaies, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκεις *of a length*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carryed by the Generall

c Ἐπεὶ καταστεφῆ στείχοντ' ὁρῶ &c. Soph. Trach.

d In Ariſtoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

ſtaff along with him. When they meant to ſend him any private meſſage, they took a piece of σκῦτος, a skin, of parchment, and wrote upon it, ſo as it could not be underſtood, unleſſe it were rolled upon thoſe ſtaves, and the Parchment and the ſtaffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it ſeems by the Poet, whether he ſpake in jeſt, or in earneſt, I cannot tell) was imitated by the *Athenians*, among a great many other things, out of a *Λακωνομανίᾳ*, as he termes it or a humour like that of the Engliſh towards the French.

Ἐλακωνομάνουν πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε,
Ἐσκυτάλι᾽ ἐφόρουν.

If any one turned αὐτόμολος, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he ſuffered death. If he had been ἀστράτευτος, and *would* not; or δειλὸς and *could* not fight for feare; or if λελοιπὼς τὴν τάξιν, or ῥίψασπις, he had *left his rank* or *thrown down* his *Armes*, he was regiſtred, and delivered to the *Heliaſtæ* to be puniſhed as they pleaſed, and not to come to the Temples, till he had ſatisfied juſtice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward.

Οὐχ ὅν τιν᾽ ἄν γε ζῶντ᾽ ἕλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two ὀβολοὶ, ſaies *Heſychius*: (but *one*, ſaies *Harpocration*) every day out of the publick Treaſury: but firſt they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five Hundred*, whether they were ἀδύνατοι. now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένοι, ſaies *Harpocration*, thoſe whoſe eſtates came not to ſo much as three *minæ*. Such as were *ſlaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publique Treaſure, till they came to be twenty yeares old: and then they had a πανοπλίαν, a *Suit of Armes* beſtowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύματα, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, and to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour alſo προεδρίας, of having the formoſt ſeat at *ſhewes*. If they buried the party ſlain in the ſame place (as they did all at *Marathon*-fight) the faſhion

* *Vid. ſupr. Æſchines contra Cteſiph.*

Eurip. Heracl. v. 966.

Vid. Supr.

Plato.

ſhion

ſhion was then to make a ſhield his *Beere*, as twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to thoſe words of the Lacedæmonians *virago* to her Son, as ſhe was helping on his ſhield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶν, either do thou bring *the ſhield home againe, or let the ſhield bring* a *thee*; nay and to make it his Coffin too ſometime, as it ſeemes by the ſaying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Aſtyanax*.

a *Arma ſuperveheris quid, Thraſibule, tua?* *Auſon Epig.* 24.

Ἀλλ' ἀντὶ κέδρου, περιβόλων τε λαΐνων,
Ἐν τῇδε θάψαι παῖδα.

At the buriell, the reſt of his company Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, ſhaking their Armes, and throwing their ſwords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. But for the moſt part, they were allowed a publique buriall upon the common charge, at home in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three dayes before the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypreſſe wood, and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground with ſeverall pillars and inſcriptions, and one ſolemne ſpeech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or elſe placed in the *Ar*, and honoured with the name of *Cecropidæ*, *Citizens of the tru old blood*: according to that

Thucid. l. 3.

Οὐ παλαιγενεῖς Κεκροπίδας εἶναι γ' ἐγώ.

Eurip in Phœn.

Sometimes ſuch as had the *firſt fruits* (or the *prime*) of the ſpoyles, were adorned with a golden στέφανος.

Ibid.

Καὶ τόνδε χρυσοῦν στέφανον ὡς ὁρᾷς ἔχω
Λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOR *memorialls of the victory*, ἵστασαν τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies*: (you may write τροπαῖα, if you had rather follow the most [a] ancient, then that which is newest in fashion.) Trophies were uſually *pillars* of braſſe, or ſtone, or wood. And the wood ſometimes *olive* (τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ ξύλου ἐλαΐνου ἀνέθεσαν, ſaies *Dionyſius*) and ſometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

——*Quercuſq; trophæis Curva tremens*——

Thoſe Pillars among *them* anſwered to the *arcus triumphales* among the Latines. Only *that* might be overthrown; but *theſe* might neither be taken away, nor reſtored againe, if conſumed with age or the like, ὅτι αὐτὰ ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ κατασκευάζειν ἐπίφθονον καὶ φιλαπεχθῆμον, *leaſt they ſhould thereby rub up the old ſore and reviue the grudge with their enemies.* And therefore ſaies the ſame Author, οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἐκ χαλκῶν ἱστάντες [illegible], *Thoſe that made them Trophies of braſſe, were lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of Amneſty.* Now upon the Trophie, they engraved an ἐπίγραμμα, declaring the cauſe of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory: ſuch a one as *Othryades* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like *inſcriptions* many times were written upon other things. For *Pauſanias* having conquered *Mardonius* at *Platææ*, did not only at *Byzantium* write it upon the *Cup*, which he conſecrated to the gods of the place; (as *Athenæus* reports, to his diſpraiſe for his arrogance) but alſo upon a *tripus* beſides, which he cauſed to be made of Gold and ſent to *Delphos*, with this inſcription.

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being diſpleaſed blotted it cleane

[a] Οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ περισπῶσιν, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι προπαροξυτονοῦσι. χ. *In Ariſtoph. Plut.*

Plut. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortunâ.

*Thucid.l.*1.

cleane out and inſteed thereof, engraved the names onely of thoſe Cities, by whoſe help they obtained the victory, And ſo when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they cauſed an inſcription to be ſet up in the vault called [a] Ποικίλη.

[a] Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι Ἔκτειναν.

In *Cicero's* [b] time (it ſeems) the cuſtome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he ſaies, that the *Thebans* were accuſed for erecting a Trophie over the Lacedemonians. But inſtead of them, they erected ſometimes Altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*:) and ſometimes Images to *Jupiter* Τροπαῖος (ſo called from cauſing the enemy τρέπεσθαι to turne their *backs*: as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for cauſing their own Souldiers to *ſtand* to their ground) ſuch a one as *Hyllus* and Ἰόλαον (as I told you before of ἐσθλὸς) *good or valiant Iolaus* erected.

[b] *Piſon.*

Eurip. in Heracl. v. 937.

——— Βρέτας Διὸς, τροπαῖον καλλίνικον ἱστάναι.

The *Spoyles* which they took (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*) they uſually dedicated to the gods, and ſometimes ſent them to *Delphos*. The common name for ſuch things was ἀκροθίνια, *quaſi* ἀκροθίνια, ſaies *Euſtathius* as if it were παρὰ τὸ θῖνας ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰς: the ſame name which they gave to thoſe goods, which Merchants conſecrated for delivery from ſhipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, οἱονεὶ ἀπὸ θινὸς *a littore* ἀπαρχὰς, ἀνατιθέμενοι ἐξ ἐμπορείας διὰ τὸ ἐκ θινὸς σωθῆναι, becauſe the things were ſaved from being caſt *on ſhore*.) But I rather incline to the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles Trachiniæ*, who ſaies thoſe ἀπαρχαὶ, or the *firſt fruits of the ſpoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, becauſe they uſed to lay the ſpoyles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ θινὸς, they skim'd away the *Creame* as I may ſay, or the *Crop*, or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In alluſion whereunto *Megara* in *Euripides*, ſpeaking what choyce of Wives ſhe had made for her Sons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expreſſes it thus,

In Odyſſ.

Ἐγὼ δὲ νύμφας ἠκροθινιαζόμην.

The Arms which they took, *ἀνέθεντο* they *hung up* for the moſt part in their Temples (and ſometimes in their own houſe) as they did their *owne*, when they left the ſervice, as *Horace* ſaies,

—Veianius, armis
Herculis ad poſtem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Some of the ſpoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but *wrote* them [b] all. For that was the cuſtome, *τὰ σκῦλα τοῖς τροπαίοις ἐγγεγράφθαι* ſaies the *Scholiaſt*.

Τρόπαια ἱδρύονται πανοπλίαν ἔχοντα πολεμίων— *Eurip.* Heracl. v. 786.

[b] *In Phœniſſ. Eur.*

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & ſomniantem.

THERE were not many things in uſe among the Jewes the *People* of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not ſeeme to have imitated; and ſo *vice verſâ.* Such as the *Prophets* were among them, ſuch were the *Magi* among the *Perſians*, the *Chaldæi* among the Aſſyrians, *Gymnoſophiſts* among the Indians, the *Galeotæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetruſci* among the Italians. Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of *Divination* leſſe than the *uſe.* For if we may believe [a] *Strabo*, οἱ δὲ μάντεις ἐτιμῶντο ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings* To a Perſian King it was *neceſſary*, to any other *convenient.* *Amphilochus*

[a] L. 16.

lochus, and Mopſus Kings of Argivi were Augers too. Helenus and Caſſandra Children of a King; one was an Augur, and the other a Sybill. But to a Phyſitian, it was reckoned ſo neceſſary, that Æſchylus has uſed ἰατρὸς a Phyſitian, and μάντις a Prophet, one for the other, which made Achilles in time of the Peſtilence, to ſeek to μαντικὴ for a cure. The Scholiaſt upon Homer ſpeaks of two men, Melampus and Polyidus, that were excellent in both Profeſſions. Credit it had among the beſt Philoſophers (eſpecially that of Dreames, and Enthyſiaſmes) maintained by Plato and the Socraticks, Zeno and the Stoicks, Ariſtotle and the Peripateticks. Pythagoras indeed was againſt extiſpicina, Divination by entralls; and only Epicurus againſt that and all the reſt.

Prediction of things to come, was either from men, called Μαντεία: or from the Gods, properly called χρησμὸς an Oracle. According to that of the [a] Scholiaſt upon Sophocles, χρησμὸς μὲν ὁ τῶν θεῶν, μαντεία δὲ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed μαντεία ſeems to [a] In Oed.
be the genus, and χρησμὸς the ſpecies. The ſame Propheſy which Tyr.
when it was ſpoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was delivered by [b] men, was μαντεία. In the Oracles the word was [b] Ennius.
Fari (neque me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet) whereas in the other it could be but præſagire at the wiſeſt. The faculty in the firſt ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now called it, [c] ἀπομαντευόμενοι τὰ συμβαλόντες) or ἡ μανικὴ as Plato called it (for, as Tireſias ſaid, [c] Plato.
καὶ τὸ μανιῶδες πολλὴν μαντικὴν ἔχει) is divided by Plutarch, and Cicero, into firſt τεχνικὴν artificioſam, that which is acquired by obſervation and experience, obſervatis longo tempore ſignificationibus &c. And 2ly, Ἄτεχνον or ἀδίδακτον naturalem, for Eurip. in
which we take little or no paines. Theſe two ſpecies are ſaid Bacc. 199.
to be ὁ θησαυρὸς δίδυμος μαντοσύνας, the twins, or the double legacy, which Apollo bequeathed to Janus his ſonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infuſed faculty of Divination, moſt properly called μαντικὴ, proceeded firſt à motu furente; from a Frantick motion. Which though they took it for a help to propheſy; yet it ſeems rather to have

been a puniſhment ſent from God, who in the Propheſy of *Iſaiah c.* 44. v. 25. Said he would *make their Diviners mad.* And *Cicero* himſelfe ſaies tis very ſtrange, *ut qui humanos ſenſus amiſerit, divinos aſſecutus ſit, that he that hath loſt his own ſenſe, ſhould be able to know the ſenſe of the gods.* Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick ſpeeches of dying men: ſuch as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of ſix men that were of the ſame age, which ſhould be firſt, and which next and ſo along. Or elſe it proceeded *à motu ſomnianti*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it [illegible], which becauſe it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a ſtone *tumbling down the hill.*

The firſt kind coming by *Enthuſiaſme* or Inſpiration, was either of leſſe authority; ſuch as *Caſſandra* had: or *Polybius* Prophecying his Sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or elſe of greater, ſo as to command a belief: ſuch as the Sybill women had, or the *Pythia wench*, who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick, *à vafris quibuſdam & quæſtuariis inchoatum*, invented for gaine. The difference between thoſe two Prophets conſiſted in this, that [a] *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturæ Sibyllam. Pythia had it inſpired, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature.* Now, becauſe the number of Oracles, and the ſuperſtition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens*, then in any other part of the world, It may not be amiſſe to ſpeak ſomewhat of the moſt noted of them, *viz. Pythyum, Dodonæum,* and *Jupiter Hammon's.*

[a] *Cic. l.* 1. *de* Divin.

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE moſt noted of the three Oracles was the firſt. It was called *Pythium*, for the ſame reaſon that the Woman [illegible] was called *Pythia*, *i. e.* Either from *Python* the ſerpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who poſſeſſed the place by conqueſt. Or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this Oracle, which came from *Pythis* the ſonne of *Delphus*, the ſonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to diſtribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to diſtribute nouriſhment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it [illegible]; becauſe it was ὀμφαλὸς the *Navill*, or *Umbilicus* the midſt of *Greece*, (ſaies *Strabo*) and not of the *World* as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio poſiti*. And this they came to know forſooth, by the two *Eagles*) ſaies *Pindar* (*Crows* ſaies ſome, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter* met both in that place. Nay in alluſion to the name of ὀμφαλὸς (by which it was commonly called) *Pauſanias* ſaies there was to be ſeen in the Temple a Navill made of white ſtone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill ſtring. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀμφὴ the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeeld to have it derived from the Navill, *quamvis terræ locus is ſit terrarum medius, neque umbilicus ſit in hominis medius*. But the latter reaſon is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one else. The firſt beginner of the Oracle (ſome ſay) was *Tellus*, πρωτόμαντιν γαῖαν; and ſome *Themis*.

[illegible]

The firſt beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, comming to a den very large before with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a ſuddaine fell a leaping and making a ſtrange noiſe. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) ſeeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the ſame frolick, but prophecied too. And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the ſame purpoſe. Nay a great many, with the *breath* ([illegible], or *anhelitus terræ*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth *expired*. Inſomuch that afterward they ſet a *Three-*

Diodor. l. 6.

footed

footed ſtool upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common name was *Pythia*, and her *office* to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out. For (ſaies *Plutarch*) *the words are hers, only Apollo* τὰς φαντασίας παρέχει, καὶ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, ſate in under blowing with the bellows to ſet her a *peeping* or a *whiſpering* like those [illegible] in *Iſaiah* c. 8, v. 19. Where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστριμύθους, or *belly* Prophets that *peep* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divel ſpake his propheſies with a ſmall peeping voice like a childs. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voice ſhall be as one that hath a familiar ſpirit, out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* Now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpake, was a pot filled with *duſt*, thorow which the *afflatus*, the wicked *inſpiration*, was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that thoſe Prophets which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, and στερνομάντεις, as well as πύθωνες, and c Εὐρυκλεῖς, the manner of her ſitting, &c. when ſhe took the ſpirit in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the d *Scholiaſt*, [illegible] She was no ſooner inſpired, but ſhe fell a tearing her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting her fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures, *Sectis namq; humeris & utraq; manu diſtrictis gladiis exerentes currunt, efferantur, inſaniunt.* But this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maids name that propheſied in that place, was *Phemonoe*. All the reſt were young Virgins, as ſhe was, till *Echecrates*, a

Theſſalian

a As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed Chriſtian in the Town of *Berwick*.

b C. 29. v. 4.

Plutarch. de Orac. defec.

c And *Euriclide* from *Euricles* a Prophet of that name.

d *Ariſtoph. in Avid.*

Theſſalian deflowred *Phœbas*; and then they made choice of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The [a] cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtool*, to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their hair in the fountain *Caſtalius* (where the Poets, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too, were uſed to waſh)

——κόμας ἐμὰς δεῦσαι—— when they ſate firſt on the ſtool, they uſed to ſhake [b] the Laurel-tree that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* ſaies μασησαμένη δάφνην, for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra* λαιμὸν δαφνηφάγον.

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnaſſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſſus* from Λάρναξ *Deucalions Ark* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus* (called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover.——tripodes Cortina tegit*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been φιάλη a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filled with ψῆφοι, or *calculi*, *cuts* or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the pot, (ἥλλοντο) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to ask, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the anſwer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called ὅλμος, (as the table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called τρίολμος, and his Wench τριολμίς.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *looſe themſelves*, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to ſeek than they were before. But that they were reſolved to be

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[a] χ. on Eurip. Phœn.

[b] χ. on Ariſtoph.

fooled, because forſooth *Apollo* is λοξὸν crooked there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he muſt [illegible], be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. 'Tis his uſe

Senec. Oed. Act. 2. Sc. 1. *Ambage nexâ Delphico mos eſt deo*
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiaſt upon *Æſchylus*, οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν [illegible] μετ' αἰνιγμάτων γεγράφασι, in ancient time they made their verſes in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verſe, as he ſaies.

—— dicta per carmina Sortes. For *Sortes* they uſually called them, and the Verſe for the moſt part was *Hexameter*, inſomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος,

Was thought, to be none of *Pythia's*, because it was not *heroick* enough to become the Author. [a] *Plutarch* ſaies ſome were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpoſe in the Oracle place. μέτρα δὲ ῥυθμοὺς [illegible] ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρησμοῖς [illegible], *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verſe.* But one reaſon why they delivered their Oracles in verſe, or in brief, and ſo commonly in obſcurity, was becauſe the god [illegible] ἐκθεῖναι τἀληθές, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet deſirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in ſuch manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the ſpeaker, if that anſwere were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it *fell* to proſe (when it began to fall in the price) and the reaſon thereof has been ſufficiently diſputed already by *Plutarch* in a treatiſe of purpoſe.

[a] De Pythia Oracul.

The eſteem, which they had of thoſe Oracles, was ſuch; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perſwade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tireſias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral gazer* himſelf, yet in *Euripides* you ſhall have him confeſſing to *Creon*, that

Polyænus l. 2. 27.

that men were ſo apt to ſpeak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, beſides Apollo's own.

—Φοῖβον ἀνθρώποις μόνον
Χρῆν θεσπιῳδεῖν, ὃς δέδοικεν οὐδένα.

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or ſome body elſe was naught, and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuiſſet, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, niſi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem eſſet experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit*. But indeed, *ſhe has not been thus along time.* Nay for three hundred years (I think) before *his* time, *Demoſthenes* could complain ſhe did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and ſpeak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time ſhe was bribed by *Cliſthenes*, to perſwade the Lacedemonians to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyranny*; and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perſwade them to peprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Κερδῷον θεὸν for nothing.

Plutarch. de Herodot.

But you will ſay ſome other body might play the knave, and put in upon her. And likely enough. For ſo *Cicero* thinks they did in that anſwer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus*, *Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere poſſe*. And that, Firſt becauſe *Apollo* did not ſpeak in Latine. 2ly, Becauſe none of the Greek writers mention any ſuch thing. And 3ly, Becauſe the Oracles were not given in verſe in *Pyrrhus* his time.

L. 2. de Divin.

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi ceſſatione.

ALL this while I have ſaid nothing of the Temple, for feare of ſaying too little. So famous and ſo rich as it was with the gifts or ἀναθήματα, of moſt of the Princes or people in the world (inſomuch that *Aphetoria opes*, ſo ſaid from ἀφήτωρ the name of *Apollo*, who was *emissor Oraculorum*, hath been uſed as a proverb for *abundance of wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the ſame place at ſeverall times. The firſt was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Temple fields*. The ſecond of *Wax* and *Feathers*, or elſe faigned to be made ἐκ πτερῶν of wings, becauſe the mans name was *Pteras* that built it. The third of Braſſe (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minerva χαλκοίκου*.) This, ſome ſay, was molten to ground; others, that it was ſwallowed up by the Earth-quake. The fourth, of ſtone, deſtroyed by fire the firſt year of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphyctions* out of the holy treaſure in a very ſteep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be ſaid concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontiſpiece, the reaſon whereof is diſputed by a *Plutarch*, but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Cuſtoms, which the Athenians (the devoureſt ſervants of *Apollo*) uſed in ſending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to do him honour, or to ask his advice. The occaſion of ſending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing ſome arduous affairs; or for delivery from ſickneſſe, or the like. When they went thither, they were ſaid ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned again καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies uſed in ſending Embaſſes *extraordinary* to *Delphos*, were neer the ſame with thoſe that were *ordinarily* uſed in the *Delia-feaſt* once a year, and they were theſe. Thoſe that were ſent were called ſometimes Δηλιασταὶ, from the feaſt, ſometimes θεωροὶ (like Hebrew *ſeers*) a name ſuitable to that of *Apollo* Σκοπὸς in *Pindar* (*Pith*. γ.) which ſome notwithſtanding interpret to be his Index, or his *angel* the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the buſineſſe was called ἀρχιθέωρος. There were alſo ſent along with them Κήρυκος Μυστικοὶ, two that were to be παράσιτοι, or *Epulones* at *Delos* for that year. The ſhip in which they went, was firſt to be adorned with Garlands by the Prieſt of *Apollo*, and ſo were the meſſengers too on the b head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ θυμηδὲς ἢ τιμηεῦς ψυχῆς, in

Pauſan. in Phoc.

a περὶ τοῦ E. I. τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς

b Ξανθὰ δ' ἐρεψάμενοι δάφνῃ καθύπερθε μέτωπα.

Apollonius l. *Argon*.

in alluſion to *the three parts of the ſoul.* The ſhip was likewiſe called Θεωρὶς, and ſometimes Δηλιάς. It was wont to be *Theſeus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at ſuch time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he inſtituted the plaies, and the ſolemnity celebrated by the aforeſaid *Deliaſtæ*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ſhip the *Athenians* kept for his ſake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις εἰς τῶν αὐξανομένων λόγων ἀμφιδοξούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, τῶν δὲ ὡς οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένοι λεγόντων, *Inſomuch* (ſaies *Plutarch*) *that Philoſophers uſe to illuſtrate that opinion, that the body remains ſtill the ſame, notwithſtanding continual decay, by this ſimilitude.* Beſides this, there were four more *naves ſacræ, viz.* the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis.* The things that were *ſent* for the keeping of the feaſt and the Sacrifice, were called θεώρια. For when they came thither, firſt they ᵃ Sacrificed: and then the Maids, ſent thither from ſeveral places, fell a Dauncing a ſtrange kind of daunce about the Altar, which they called Γέρανον, *Gruem* the *Crane*: wherein, their motions being crooked like the Cranes-neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the Minotaurs Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biting at a buſh of Olives, with their hands behind them (as our boys do at *ſnapapple*) if ſo much be imported in the words of *Callimachus*.

Thucyd. l. 5.

ᵃ Ἐμπλεύσαντες, [illegible] τοι. *apud Pind. Olym.* H.

Πρὶν ἢ μέγαν ἢ σέο βωμὸν ὑπὸ πληγῇσιν ἑλίξαι,
Ῥησσόμενον καὶ πρέμνον ὀδακτάσαι ἁγνὸν ἐλαίης
Χεῖρας ἀποστρέψαντας, &c.

Hymn. in Del.

The Altar was Κεράτινος βωμὸς, and therefore called Κερατὼν because it was made by *Apollo* at four years old, of the *horns* of the Goats, which his ſiſter *Diana* killed a hunting upon *Cynthus* hill. The horns were all of the left ſide, ſaith *Plut. in Theſeo.* And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis τῶν δεξιῶν. Whether it ſhould be rendered of the right *ſide*, or *right*, that is, fit or handſome, I know not. But ſo ſtrangely were theſe hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue, or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *ſeven ſtrange ſights* Ἓν τῶν ἑπτὰ θαυμαστῶν θεαμάτων as *Ovid* ſaies,

Miror & innumeris ſtructam de cornibus aram.

During all theſe holy dayes no malefactor was to ſuffer puniſhment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty dayes, ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθῃ, ſaith *Xenophon.* When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People came all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeiſance as they paſſed by, which made him complaine ſo in *Euripides,*

In Hippol.

Οὐ γάρ τί μ' ὡς θεωρὸν ἀξιοῖ δόμος
Πύλας ἀνοίξας εὐφρόνως προσεννέπειν.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to ceaſe, is uncertaine. Some ſay, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears to have flouriſhed after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceaſed as ſoon as men had wit enough to adviſe themſelves, without ſeeking to him that made it his buſineſſe to couzen them. *Dion* ſaies, it was *Nero* murthered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the [a] *Hyperborean Scythians*: for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Prieſts, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The Athenians when all Greece was infected with the *Plague*, had an Oracle from thence, to make vowes and prayers in the name of the reſt. And it was their faſhion to ſend gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to Delphos. But what need we doubt of the time or the cauſe, ſince we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* aſſerts,

[a] *Pulcher Apollo Luſtrat Hyperboreas Delphis ceſſantibus aras. Claudian.*

——*Ex quo hominis* Deus *induit artus,*
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt ſortibus antra.
Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non ſpumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit inſanos mendax Dodona *vapores,*
Nec reſponſa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The Oracle place, (τὸ μαντεῖον or χρηστήριον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at firſt a kind of *School* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abuſed by the Divell to this deluſion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almoſt inacceſſible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *height*. *Dodonæ* Grove is thought to have been ſuch another *School*, *viz.* for the off-ſpring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair of Doves, that ſhould come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in *Epirus*, and there uſing the voice of a man, among other good inſtructions, gave order for the building of a Temple in that place; which was done by *Deucalion* after his ſhip came thither (while I ſpeak of theſe things, I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Ark, and his Dove) beſides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. Theſe two Oracles are reckoned the moſt *ancient* of all, and of theſe two, the laſt. τὸ γὰρ μαντεῖον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by moſt, that thoſe *Doves* were certain Women-prieſts or Prophets, fetcht from Ægypt (the Mart of ſuperſtition) by the *Phœnicians* firſt, and from them convey'd into *Theſſaly*. Now in the *Theſſalian* language, the ſame word which ſignifies a Dove, is uſed alſo to ſignifie a Propheteſſe, ἡ πελειάς. *Euſtathius* ſaies, that in the *Theſſalian* tongue *old Women* were called πελιαὶ, and *old Men* πέλιοι, and that thoſe Propheteſſes being three old women, whoſe names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, and *Nicandre*, either by miſtake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly ſuppoſed to be Doves. The ſame Author alſo ſaies, that perhaps thoſe women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would ſcarce allow to be men and women) for their rude bruitiſh language might have been counted as ſo many birds. But it ſeems to have been no ſuch ſtrange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the name of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron*

Herodot.

In Il. ξ.

phron calls *Caſſandra* by the name φάσσα *Palumbes*: though in another place ſhe have the name of a more tatling Bird, *viz.* φοιβόληπτος χελιδὼν the Swallow, The Scholiaſt upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachiniæ*) hath another conjecture more beſides that which I named laſt, *viz.* That theſe Propheteſſes had the name of πελειάδες: or rather, if you will, the old women therefore had the name of πελιαὶ, becauſe they were πεπολιωμέναι gray haired and aged.

Strabo ſpeaks of four Prieſts called Ἕλλοι ἀπὸ ἑλῶν τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, from the *fens* neer the Temple, *viz.* of *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common alſo to the Prieſts. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, ſaying

——ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

They uſed to waſh their feet, and lay upon the ground when they ſlept. When they gave anſwer, they got them amid'ſt the boughs, and ſo the Oracle was thought to come from the Oaks, when it came but from *between* them. They are called προσήγοροι δρύες, and μαντικαὶ δρύες, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called [a] λάληθρον κίσσαν. Round about the Temple ſtood Baſins of Braſſe, one juſt againſt the other παρ' ἀλλήλων κειμένων, ſaith *Euſtathius*, of which if you ſtruck but one, all the reſt would cry, and make ſuch a noyſe, that at length *Æs Dodonium* became a proverb. Belike they uſed to ſtrike theſe Baſons as they uſed to do other Baſons and Pots, with a ring held by a thread in the hand, and ſtriking the ſides of the veſſel ſo many times, to make a Divination by the ſounds.

[a] *Cæco Tomuri Jovis augure luco Arbore præſagâ tabulas animâſſe Loquaces.* Claudian.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per ſomnium, ſuper Melotas in Templis, cum obſervatione diætæ.

PRophecying by a *Dream*, was either ὀνειροπολικὴ, *ſomniatoria*, of a *Dreamer of Dreams*; or ὀνειροκριτικὴ, *Conjectatio*, of an *Interpreter* of Dreams, ſuch as *Hecuba* ſpake of, when ſhe ſaid ὥς μοι κρίνωσιν ὀνείρους. The latter of theſe ſurely belongs to the *technicall* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other ſort of *Ariolation*. For he that ſhall object that ſpeaking but ſometimes true, does not argue skill, because *ſi ſæpe jaculeris, quandoq; conveneris jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be anſwered with this queſtion, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Beſides if it were not ſo, what talk we of *Xenophon*'s Dreams in his ſervice with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were ſo many books written of this ſubject? For, to ſay nothing of a eleven more that wrote of purpoſe of it, nor of the Treatiſe ὀνειροκριτικὸν reported by b *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books; *Artemon Mileſius* wrote two and twenty books of it himſelf; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourſcore *Senarii* Verſes in Greek, touching the ſignification of ſuch or ſuch a ſight in a Dream. But the dream (you muſt underſtand) was not every ἐνύπνιον, or *vain* dream (for ſo does the Etymology import, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ὕπνῳ μόνον φαίνεσθαι, ſaies *Euſtathius*) but ὄναρ or ὄνειρος, a *morning dream*, freſh and faſting, ſuch as ὕπαρ is ſaith c *Homer*, which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντως ὁρᾶν, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος which they derive ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ ὂν εἴρειν, and of ſuch is that of *Orpheus* in the *Hymns* d Ἄγγελε μελλόντων θνητοῖς χρησμῳδὲ μέγιστε. I believe few that read me are ſuch as *Plutarch's Thraſymedes*, or *Pliny's Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variouſly conjectured

Lib. 1. Divin.

a Hadr. Jun. animad.

b In Pompeio.

c Οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ᾽ ὕπαρ ἐσθλὸν ὅ τοι τετελεσμένον ἔσται. Hom. Odyſſ. T.

Lib. 7. Cap. 5.

who was the firſt *conjectour* in this kind. a *Pliny* ſaies, *Amphyctyon, Deucalion's* ſon; *Philo Judæus, Abraham; Trogus Pompeius, Joſeph*; *Pauſanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, whom he reports to have been deified for his skill; and that they uſed to ſacrifice to him, when they looked for a dream. They talk that the people that lived neer *Boryſthenes*, and the *Gaules*, were excellent at this work; and ſo were thoſe that lived at the b *Hible*, two Cities ſo named in *Sicily*. But among all, the *old doting women* were beſt at it.

Quæ mihi non decies ſomnia verſat anus,

When they deſired to dream a prophetical dream, ſometimes they would ſacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and ſleep upon the fleece. For thus the *Daunii* uſed to do in the Temple of c *Chalchas*. So likewiſe the *Calabri* uſed their *melota ſheep-skins*, or fleeces, to ſleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it ſeems, it was a common practiſe both for dreaming; for *Virgil* alſo ſaies,

Cæſarum ovium ſub nocte ſilenti

Pellibus incubuit ſtratis, ſomnoſq; petivit.

And alſo for *purifying* a polluted perſon in the *Eleuſinian* and other ſacrifices: for they took the skins of beaſts that had been ſacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no ſmall uſe of fleeces and skins in ſeveral other buſineſſes; as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) ſate upon a fleece for a cuſhon, to ſhew her purpoſe *Lanificio incumbere* of ſpinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd mad tricks with skins. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge himſelf, he would ſacrifice an Ox, and cut the fleſh into pieces and boyl it, and ſit upon the skin with his hands behind him, and ſo beg for help. Then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the fleſh, and ſetting his right foot on the skin, promiſed either men or arms, or what he beſt could. Such ceremonies as theſe, they accounted a faſt engage-

b Pauſan. Eliac.

Propertius Lib. 2. El. 4.

c Ἐναγίζουσι δ' αὐτῷ μέλανα κριὸν οἱ μαντευόμενοι ἐγκοιμώμενοι ἐν τῷ δέρματι. Strabo l. 6.

Cal. Rodig.

engagement, and much conducing to the ſucceſſe. Sometimes they would go and ſleep in a Temple with Laurel, or ſome ſuch fatidical ſtuff tyed about their heads, and ſacriſice to [a] *Brizo*, the goddeſſe of the *dreamers*, ſo called from βρίζειν to *ſleep*. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpoſe to *ſleep* in the Temple of *Paſithea*, to watch for dreams. So if any were *ſick* they would go and ſleep in the Temple of *Æſculapius*, to *dream of a remedy*, (as they have uſed to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who ſhall dye next) *Pluto* in *Ariſtophanes* did ſo,

Κατεκλίνομεν τὸν πλοῦτον, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν.

And the like was wont to be done in Ægypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has ſufficiently declared the vanity of all this doings in ſaying,

Non delubra deûm, nec ab æthere numina mittunt
Sed ſibi quiſque facit.

Beſides all this they took a ſpecial care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtain from wine for *three*; as likewiſe to forbear eating Beans or raw fruit. *Ariſtotle* ſaies there is no credit to be given φθινοπωρινοῖς ἐνυπνίοις, to *dreams in the Autumn.* But *Plutarch* queſtions that again, and ſaies if we eat good and ripe fruit, [illegible], καὶ ψευδῶν [illegible], *our dreams will be the truer*. *Fiſh*, either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they ſacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fiſh; whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt, I cannot tell. [b] *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſower* in the *dream*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſt*: and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately uſed. Some choice there was alſo of the *colour* of their Cloaths. For the whiteſt and cleareſt was beſt, [illegible] ἐν ὕπνῳ φανερά, ſaies *Suidas*: as if Dreams and Viſions muſt needs be the *clearer*. The trueſt dreams ([illegible]) or the cleareſt viſions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the

[a] [illegible] *Athenæus l.8.*

Sat. 6.

Sympoſ. l.9.

[b] *Cal. Rhod. l.27.c.10.*

a Ὡς δ' ἐν νυκτὸς [illegible] Odyſſ. δ.

b Namque ſub auroram jam dormitante lucernâ Tempore quo cerni ſomnia vera ſolent;

morning (the former time a Homer calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ, the milking time in the Morning, in opposition to [illegible] ἀμολγὸς, the milking time in the evening)

[illegible]

[illegible]

ſaies Theocritus: and b Ovid was of the ſame mind. Pliny ſaies a dream is never true preſently after eating and drinking. But Artemidorus ſaies it is all one for that, [illegible], for if you eat too much, the dream will never be the truer if it tarry till morning.

[illegible]

CAP. V.

De duabus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreams, that they were fain to make two diſtinct doors for them, to come in by, one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much Penelope her ſelf could tell Ulyſſes (when ſhe deſired him to interpret her dreams) — Odyſſ. τ.

Δοιαὶ γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων

Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

In Ephemer. — Auſonius ſaies as much; telling you which are the true, and which the falſe,

Et geminas numera portas quæ fornice eburno

Semper fallaces glomerant ſuper aëra ſomnos,

Altera quæ veris emittit cornea viſus.

And I have heard of ſome Chriſtians that have believed the ſame. Philoſtratus ſaies, that in alluſion to theſe doors, they uſed to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black, and a horn in his hand. The door for the true dreams was of Horn.

[illegible]

Nonnus dion. δ. — Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when they ſlept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for the *falſe* and *deceitful* dreams, was of Ivory, ſuch as that wherewith *Morpheus* was cozened with in the Poet,

Μόρφεα δ' ἐψεύσαντο παρήπαφον ἴκελ ὀνείρω
Κλεψίφρων ἐλέφαντος ἀναΐξασα πυλάων

Nonn.

Lucian therefore jeers the covetous *Micyllus* for wiſhing his *dream-door* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but thoſe two in all, as may be gathered by theſe words in [a] *Plato*, Ἄκουε τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ εἴτε διὰ κεράτων εἴ τε δι ἐλέφαντος ἐλήλυθεν. The reaſons of thoſe names, I find very prettily gueſſed at by the Scholiaſt upon *Homer* at the place above commended; and I ſhall deſire your patience to tell them. Firſt, the true (ſaies he) comes by the Horn-door, or ἐκ κέρατος: becauſe τὸ ἔργον κραίνουσι, or κραίνουσι, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they ſay no more then comes to paſſe, whereas thoſe that come in by the Ivory-door, or ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφαίρονται or ἐλπαίρονται, delude the dreamer with a fruitleſſe hope of truth. 2ly, κερατίνη ἐκβολὴ, the *coming in by the Horn* is as much as coming *clearly*, for one may ſee through horn, if it be made thin. ἐλεφαντίνη, the other *confuſedly*, for one cannot ſee through Ivory, nor any other ſuch white things, as milk or the like, if they be never ſo little, and ſo *Macrobius* does Interpret [b] it too. 3ly, By the κέρας is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κερατοειδὴς χιτὼν, *cornea tunica*, the firſt *coat* of the eye. And by the ἐλέφας the mouth, or the *Ivory-coloured* teeth, ἐλεφαντόχροες ὀδόντες: and ſo the meaning muſt be, that which is to be *ſeen* with the *eye* is likelier, then that which is but *ſaid* to be ſo from the *teeth*. And this was alſo the opinion of *Servius* concerning the ſame fiction, upon thoſe words of *Virgil*,

Sunt Geminæ ſomni portæ, &c.

4ly, By the *Horn-door*, may be meant the paſſage for the more Heavenly and Diviner ſort of dreams, οὐράνιοι ὄνειροι, or *Διόπεμπτοι*: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι: the more earthly, groſſe, and confuſed, Becauſe the Elephants *Proboſcis* turns downward towards the earth, whereas the horns

[a] In *Charmide*.

[b] Speaking of ſleep ſaies he. *Hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum uſque aciē animæ introſpicientis admittit, de cornu creditur; cujus iſta natura eſt, ut tenuatum viſui pervium ſit, cum autem à vero hebetat ac repellit, obtuſū, ebur putatur cujus &c.* l. c. 3 *in Somnium Scip.*

horns of other beasts look upward toward Heaven, [illegible], ἐλέφαντος, is the door for the falſe dreams, becauſe there can be no other but falſe dreams expected, when the teeth have eaten too much.

The Gueſts which are to come in by theſe doors, were thought to be *Ghoſts* and *Spirits* from hell. *Umbræ, ſhadows* they might well be: and ſuch as aſcend in a *fume* too, like Furies from the nether part of the body. Again as Ghoſts are

a Homer. Odyſſ. 4. ——ἴκελος ὄνειρον, ſaid to fly in and out like dreams, and death is a ſleep: ſo dreams are ſaid to fly in and out like Ghoſts, and ſleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them νυκτίφοιτα δείματα, *Night-walking-Bug-bears.* Fly they did with *black-wings*, like Batts of the night; and therefore *Euripides* calls a dream μελανοπτέρυγον, *Orpheus* τανυσίπτερον, *Lucian* πτηνόν. If this be ſo, the reaſon why before they went to bed, when they meant to dream, they uſed to ſacrifice a Victime to *Mercury*, was, it may be, not ſo much becauſe of his *rod*, with which he brought people a ſleep, and awakened them again, as becauſe he was Gentleman-uſher of the Ghoſts: for what reaſon ſoever it was, it ſeems *Mercury* was moſt in their minds when they were ready to ſleep: and therefore as at feaſts, ſo at other times, the laſt of their prayers was to him, and the laſt health that went round was his. For ſo we find *Calaſiris* in *Heliodorus*, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν &c. After he had prayed to all the reſt of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for

L. 3. εὐόνειρον νύκτα, *a night of good dreams.* Hence was it that they

Suidas. uſed to faſten τοὺς ἑρμᾶς, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἑρμῖνας. When they ſacrificed that *victime*, they uſed to take the tongue and [b] burn

b [illegible] Odyſſ. 12. it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and ſpeech to be conſecrated. ὡς τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἑρμηνείας ἱερόν, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes.* With whom

c Plut. agrees *Athenæus*, προσφέρονται δ᾽ αὐτῷ αἱ γλῶσσαι διὰ τὸν Ἑρμεῖαν. Others who did not think dreams to be Ghoſts, yet would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

Plato who thought the air to be full of such things. And so *Democritus* (as the Scholiaſt reports, who ſaies that he had it from *Homer* himſelf) thought that men dream this or that dream κατ᾽ ἀπόκρισιν ἢ ἔμφασιν, or (as a *Plutarch* has it from the ſame man) κατ᾽ ἀποσπάσεις τῶν εἰδώλων, *according to this compoſition, or ſeparation of Images, or Ghoſts, or phancies*, or ſomewhat. But indeed I think thoſe εἴδωλα, ſhould not be ſo much Images as Imaginations, not ſo much *umbræ* Ghoſts, as *adumbrationes, Images* and *Species* in the phancy proceeding from the *ſpirits* within, and not from thoſe without.

In Odyſſ. δ.

a De Placit. Philoſ.

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum luſtratione.

FOR their *deſcent*, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the *Earth*. Χθὼν μάτηρ ὀνείρων, ſaies *Euripides*. And the Scholiaſt upon him gives the reaſon, ἐπεὶ μὲν ἐκ γῆς αἱ τροφαὶ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τροφῶν οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὕπνων οἱ ὄνειροι, becauſe *from the earth comes meat, from meat ſleep, and from ſleep dreams*. Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and ſo they may come from the earth ſtill.) And ſome from the *Moon*, which was all one, and ſuited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *Kind*, of dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Φάντασμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. Ὄνειρος, 4. Ὅραμα, 5. Χρηματισμός, Others divided them into ἀλληγορικοὺς, and θεωρηματικοὺς ὀνείρους. Θεωρηματικοὶ, were οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῶν θέᾳ προσεοικότες, *when things appeared in their own likeneſſe.* Ἀλληγορικοὶ were when they appeared in the likeneſſe of *other* things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant. Such as *Cæſars* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and ſo was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portendi, quæ cunctorum viventium ſit mater*, that the whole earth, the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the diſtinction of dreams was ſo accurate, dance, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no leſſe than three ſervants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dream that ſhould concern *men*, he made uſe of *Morpheus*, if *beaſts*, of *Phobetor* (as men called him) or *Icelos* (as the *gods* called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris* ——

Ovid. Met. l. 12. f. 10.

if inanimate creatures (*Quæq; vacant anima* ——) of him that had the name of *Phantaſos* (I wonder how he could remember all the ſhapes, and the river of *Lethe* ſpring in his houſe, and his houſe be as dark as a den, as any among the *Cimmerii*, for ſo it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the beſt? Yes by all means, as ſoon as I ariſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuff*, *diis penatibus*.

Propert. l. 2. Eleg. 29.

Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ
Quæ ſibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.

Or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιος, ἀλεξίκακος, or προστατήριος, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the Porches. Some had rather to do it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. But there is better reaſon why they ſhould do it to the *Sun*, viz. Ἵνα ἐναντίος ὢν ὁ ἥλιος τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποσκεδάσῃ, &c. *Becauſe the Sun being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expel all evills brought by the ſame.* They are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles* —— [illegible] &c. They called this action ἀποπέμπεσθαι, [illegible] and [illegible], but moſt properly [illegible] τῷ ἡλίῳ. It was practiſed by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when ſhe had dreamt of the fall of the houſe: although ſhe (or the Poet) had ſo much wit as to think it to be to little purpoſe.

In Electr.

Eurip. in Hec.

Idem in Taur. v. 43.

ἃ καινὰ δ' ἥκει νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα
λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ', εἴ τι δὴ τόδ' ἔστ' ἄκος.

If you think that this will not do neither, try a third remedy, go make a prayer and waſh your ſelf luſtily in the cold River till you ſweat.

—Sub lucem ut viſa ſecundent,
Ore ſacricolas, & vivo purgat in amni. Sil. Ital. l. 8.

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain, as he did in * *Æſchylus.* * In Perſis.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστην ϗ χεροῖν καλλιῤῥόου
Ἔψαυσα πηγῆς σὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ
Βωμῷ προσέστην ἀποτρόποισι δαίμοσι
Θέλουσα θῦσαι πέλανον.

If you think no *cold* water will do it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Ariſtophanes.*

—ἐκ ποταμῶν δ' ἀνάγετε
Θέρμετε δ' ὕδωρ,
Ὡς ἂν θεῖον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύσω. In Ranis.

But perhaps no kind of *freſh* water is ſtrong enough; you may do well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they uſed to waſh away not only the evil of a dream, but of a crime, or diſeaſe, or any thing elſe: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Ægypt*, being troubled with the falling-ſickneſs, was bid by the Prieſt, to bath himſelf in the ſea, and being by that means cured, he preſently gave this commendation of it, Il. A. Cicer. l. 5. Divin. L. 7. c. 55.

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his ſight. After murther (for other ſins they ſcarce thought great enough, *to caſt hot water*) it was a common practiſe, and then no fear of the diſpleaſure of a god for the future. Il. C.

λύμαθ' ἀγχίλου ὕδωρ
Μῆνιν βαρεῖαν ἐξαλεύασθαι θεῶν.

SECT. II.

De Divinatione artificiosâ, & primo de Ornithomantiâ.

THE *Technical* part of Divining, *artificioſum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, conſiſted eſpecially in the obſerving of birds, and the Entralls of Beaſts. Beſides which were φῆμαι or κληδόνες ominous words, or things, σύμβολα ἐνόδια, κλῆροι lots, τέρατα ſights, and indeed ἕτερα μυρία (as the Scholiaſt ſaith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two firſt were every where moſt in uſe. *Quæ eſt autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum aut Augurum, aut ſortium prædictione moveatur?* In the firſt the *Phrygians*, *Cilicians, Arabians*, *Piſidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedæmonians* had ſo great eſteem of it, that every King had his Augur to adviſe him, as well as the Senate. It was firſt invented, (ſaith *Pliny*) by one *Car*. *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: ſo that he proved exceeding uſefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only ſhewing them how they ſhould pacify *Diana* detaining the ſhips at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Peſtilence, but telling the number of years that the war ſhould laſt, by the number of Sparrows deſtroyed by the Serpent in the neſt, as *Cicero* renders the verſes.

Il. μ.

Cicer. l. 1. Divin.

L. 7. c. 55.

Il. α.

Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœnâ ſatiabis Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, becauſe he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow (ſay ſome) of how many Figs upon the Fig-tree (ſaith *Heſiod*) which *Mopſus*, with whom he conteſted, was able to tell. The name they called it by was ὀρνιθομαντεία, or οἰωνιστικὴ. It was οἰονιστικὴ at firſt with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being ἐν τῷ νῷ καὶ διανοίας ποριζομένη, ἀνθρωπίνῃ οἰήσει: but *now* (ſaith *Ariſtides*) they write it with *omega* τῷ ὦ σεμνύνοντες, *to give the better grace to the word*: and it is ſtill uſed as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ὄρνις, and οἰωνὸς a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur*'s faſhion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines) and to have his οἰωνιστήριον his *place* and his *ſeat* appointed for the purpoſe, τοὺς θάκους, or θώκους.

Εἰς γὰρ παλαιὸν θᾶκον ὀρνιθοσκόπον ἵζων. Saies he in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiaſt upon the words θάκοι in *Euripides* ſaies, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tireſias* uſed to ſit and divine. When they went to it οἱ οἰωνοσκόποι ἐν δέλτοις ἐσημειοῦν τοὺς πτήσεις (ſaith the ſame Scholiaſt) doubting their *memory* might not ſuffice, they carried their *Table-books* with them, and wrote down the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the *ſeeing* too *Tiriſias* being blind, and only able to *fore-ſee*, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do for him: by which means ſhe her ſelf at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the *habit* of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of obſerving was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis ſignis? Aliter obſervant, aliter reſpondent*, ſaies *Cicero*. The Greeks accounted the *right ſide* the luckieſt, *Graiis & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the *left*. Although (to ſpeak the truth) the *ſide* was the ſame, only the *poſture* of the *Augures* was different. For the Grecians looked towards the North, and the Romans toward the ſouth; and the word *ſiniſtra* for *lucky* or *good ſigns*, came not ſo much *à ſiniſtra manu* from the

In Antigon.

L. 2.

the *hands* being left; as a *sinendo*, from the *man's* being left to his pleaſure to ſet upon his enterprize if he would. So ſaies *Feſtus*: and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona ſint ſiniſtra nos dicere, etiamſi dextra ſint.* But yet this was the manner of ſpeech, *viz.* For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies [a] *ἐνδέξια right* (and therefore *Statius* may ſeem to have miſtaken, when he ſpake of Grecian Augury,

[b] *Signa feras lævumque tonet* ——) the Romans ſometimes *dextra*, and ſometimes *læva*; but the one *more ſuo*, and the other *more Græco*. *Unluckie* birds (a word uſed among us for an unhappy *way*) they called *ἐξαισίους*, or *ἐξέδρους*, when they fled not, or *pitcht* not in their uſual height or place. This laſt word puts me in mind of that ſaying of *Hippolytus* perhaps in alluſion to it.

——ἐκπλήσσουσί με
λόγοι παραλλάσσοντες ἔξεδροι φρενῶν.

Sometimes they are called *ἐνθύμιοι*, or *κωλυτικοὶ inhibæ*, *εἰρκτικοὶ arculæ*, and *ἀεικέλιοι* (as in [c] *Apollonius*) ab *εἴκω cedo*, as who would ſay *non ſiniſtra*, or *non ſinentia*; as I told you before. And ſuch they commonly counted thoſe that had long talons or ſcracht their heads as they fled, ſuch (as they ſay) were ſeen upon *Caſſius* his Tent before his defeat: the Latines call them *Volſgras*. But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy againſt a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apuleius* of a trick to kill one or two of the worſer ſort, and hang them up at the door: as we uſe to do dead Crows upon a ſtick in the field, to ſcare the living away: Saies he, *Iſtas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, ſollicitè prehenſas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infauſtis volatibus familiæ minantur, exitium ſuis luant cruciatibus.* Birds that were *lucky* either in their nature, or the place they appeared in, were called *αἴσιοι*, or *ἔνδιοι*, that is, ſuch as were not *ἔξεδροι* (*unſeemly*, or *unſightly* as we uſe to ſay) but appeared *ἐμμετρίοισιν ἐν ἕδραισι*, (as [d] *Æſchylus* has it) in their proper *ſphear* or *ſeat*, ſuch they counted Doves, and the *ἴυγξ* in matters of Love:

as

[a] Ζεὺς δὲ σφιν Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνει, Saies Ajax Hom. Il. 10.

[b] Theb.

Eurip. Hippol. v. 934.

[c] Κίρκον πτεροῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κάρα τίλλοντα. ſaies Æſchylus.

Metam. li. 3

[d] Ὄρνιν ἰδὼν τινα ἐκ ἐν αἰσίοις ἕδραις. Eurip. in Hec.

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continual crowing, in matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold the *Thebans* a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa ſilere ſoleret, canere, ſi viciſſet.* Cock-fightings indeed were uſually στάσεως σημαντικὰ ſaith a *Artemidorus*, *ſigns of ſedition and diſcord.* But then you muſt except the Cock *matches* kept once a year in the Theatre, and inſtituted by b *Themiſtocles* after the victory gotten over the *Perſians*, from whom c the Cock firſt came into *Athens*. This bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of War, was the occaſion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: inſomuch that it was their ordinary ſacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Ariſtophanes in Avibus* calls it *Ἄρεως νεοττὸν *Mars his own bird.* All birds (ſaith one) were either μαντικὰ, or μυστικὰ or θαλάσσια. The μαντικὰ (I believe) were not many beſides Crows, and Eagles and Doves, and Owls the moſt noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augures came to underſtand by being lickt by Snakes, or ſome ſuch venemous and veneneficial means: *Qui credit iſta* (ſaies *Pliny*) *& Melampodi profectò aures lambendo dediſſe Intellectum avium ſermonis dracones non abnuet, vel quæ* Democritus *tradit, nominando aves quarum confuſo ſanguine ſerpens gignatur, quem ſi quiſquam aderit, intellecturus ſit avium colloquia.* *Euſtathius* ſaies that *Helenus* and *Caſſandra* were thus licked clean into Augurs, Ἕλενον καὶ Κασσάνδραν ἐν ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ὄφεις ἐπὶ τὰ ὦτα περιλείξαντες ὥστε ὀξυηκόους εἰργάσθαι ὡς μόνους τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἀκούειν βουλάς. I am glad I am ſaved the labour to reprove thoſe fellows *my ſelf.* For it ſeems that the wiſer ſort even amongſt them, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's tale, when they had a mind to be ſerious. Look in *Homer*, and you ſhall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban *Augur* (who had diſſwaded from fighting, by reaſon of ſome thing or other which he had obſerved in the Birds) ſaies he, *you may, if you think good, ſit and gaze upon a few fooliſh birds*

till

a Lib. 3. c. 5.

b Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 28.

c Athen. l. 14

Roſin.

x. In Ariſtoph. Aves.

till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

In *Ariſtophanes* you find the birds themſelves *oſcinentes*, *chirping* and *gibing* their ſpectators for their ſuperſtition.

Ἐσμὲν δ' ὑμῖν Ἄμμων, Δελφοὶ, Δωδώνη, Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
Ἐλθόντες γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπ' ὄρνεις οὕτω πρὸς ἅπαντα τρέπεσθε.

CAP. I.

De extiſpicinâ, & quibuſdam aliis.

Divination by the Entrals of beaſts, or *Extiſpicina* (for ſo *Aruſpicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the beſt part of it) was more common then that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* ſaies *Cicero*:) and eſpecially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *Jamidæ*, and the [a] *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmeſſus* in *Caria* much improved. *Tireſias* had ſo great skill in this art (I cannot ſay *inſight*, becauſe *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindneſſe*) that even after his death, among the Ghoſts there were none but [b] his. *Ulyſſes* himſelf was fain to trouble his ſoul to come back again to give him adviſe. The whole buſineſſe of Divining at the offering of a victime (for there was ſomething elſe to do beſides poring in the guts) was called ἱεροσκοπία. And a very ſolemn buſineſſe it was, being uſually attended with a feaſt, according to that.

—ὅπως πανδαισίαν θοινασόμεσθα.

Θυτικὴ, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφίβολα, and the act of cutting ἐντομευτεῖν. The ſignes obſerved were moſt properly called σημεῖα, and the obſervers σημειωτικοί. If the beaſt were drawn by force to the ſlaughter, if it eſcaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not down quietly, bled but little, were long a dying,

kept

[a] *Pindar.*

[b] τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια οἴῳ πεπνῦσθαι. *Hom. Odyſſ.* Κ.

Eurip. Elect. v. 835.

kept beating the ground, they were all ill ſigns. For the two latter of them you have ſadly expreſſed in the ſacrifice of *Ægyſthus.*

—πᾶν δὲ σῶμ' ἄτω κάτω
ἤσπαιρεν ἠλάλαζε δυσθνῄσκον φόνῳ.

Ibid.

Ill ſigns, I ſay thoſe were; and ſo was any thing elſe that either was contrary to nature or uſe, or put themſelves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with eaſe, the beaſt not ſtriving, and the blood preſently darting out, as it is ſaid it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus.*

—αἵματος δ' ἀπορροαὶ
Εἰς οἶδμ' ἐσηκόντιζον ὑετα

Idem. v. 1603.

Somewhat there was too, which they obſerved in the very γλίματι or *wagging* of his * tail, whence that in the Poet.

—Ἢ ἡ κέρκος ποιεῖ καλῶς;

The beaſts that were thus uſed were anciently ſheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they ſay) made uſe of Sows, and the *Jamidæ* of Dogs; which was the reaſon why [a] *Thraſibulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a dog lying by him diſſected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his ſhoulder.

In *Fiſſiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they took moſt notice of the *Liver,* which [b] *Philoſtratus* ſaies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chair*, and the *key* of the work. For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the reſt of the body muſt needs be ſo too; inſomuch that the work about all the bowels was called ἡ ἡπατοσκοπία, a *looking* into the *liver.* The Concavous part of the Liver was called ἑστιὰς *familiaris*, becauſe the ſignes which they obſerved there, concerned *themſelves and their friends*: the *Gibbous* ſide, ἐπίβολις or ἀντιστάτις *hoſtilis*, becauſe the tokens in it concerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place or *ſeat* in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called θέξις ἀρχῆ: the place between the parts in the middle πυλαῖα,

Heſych.

[a] *Pauſ. in Eliac.*

[b] ἐν ἥπατι φασὶ τὰ αὐτῆς μαντικῆς εἶ τρίποδα οἱ δειτοὶ ταῦτα

ϵ ϗ. ad orat. Demoſt, Coron. λαῖα, and θυρυχωεία. *Heſychius* calls it, ὁδὸς, or ἐκτροπάς, *Euripides* πυλάς.

—πυλαὶ ϗ δοχαὶ πέλας
Κακὰς ἔφαινον τῷ σκοποῦντι προσβολάς.

If there were διψὰς (as they called it) too *much dryth*, or δεσμὸς a *tye between the parts*, or eſpecially if it were ἄλοβον, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill ſign: according to that L. 2. of *Appian* τὰ πρῶτα ἄλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δ᾽ ἕτερα ϗ εἰς θάνατον. This and other ſuch ſigns becauſe they were ſo bad, that they feared to *go any farther in it*; they called ἀκάλλιδα. When they came to handle the heart, they called it καρδιοῦσθαι, or καρδιουλκεῖν. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill ſign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (κνίσσῃ δὲ κῶλα συγκαλυπτὰ) ſaies *Æſchylus*; and ſo were Σπλάγχνων πτύχες, *plaits* and *foldings*, ſaies *Euripides*.

Heſych. When they came to *burning*, then they were ſaid more properly δι᾽ ἐμπύρων μαντεύεσθαι. At *Delphos* they had πυρκόους, *officers* of purpoſe for the work. The *fire* which they made uſe of for this occaſion, was in moſt places made of ſome peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Egypt* they had the *Seraphim*, and among Xenoph. the Perſians, the fire which they worſhiped under the name of *Orimaſda*. At *Athens* they had a torch ſtill burning in the temple of *Minerva Polias*, and *Virgins* conſtantly there to ſee it renewed; juſt as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the Temple of *Veſta*.

V. 751. In burning they obſerved eſpecially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* ſay to the contrary, where he ſpeaks againſt all other divinations too.

Οὐδ᾽ ἦν ἄρ᾽ ὑγιὲς οὐδὲν ἐμπύρου φλογός,

Good ſigns in the flame were theſe, if it went upright without a noiſe, if it continued till all were conſumed; or if it ſuddenly began to have the latter ſign, inſteed of σχίζας *cleft wood*, which they uſed at other times, they would get ſmall dry ſticks that would ſooneſt take fire, τὰ φρύγανα, according to that,

οὐκ ἂν δοκῶ σοὶ μαντικῶς τὸ φρύγανον τιθέναι.

Now indeed many times ὅτ᾽ ἂν ἄσημα ᾖ ἡ σφαγὴ, γινώσκομεν εἰς πῦρ βλέποντες, that is, the Prieſts being *divinarumque ſagaces* c *Flammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing ſeen in the cutting*: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reaſon *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλλοδέτους κύστεις) put into the fire, to obſerve in what place it brake, and *which way it darted* the Urine, κὴ πῆ τὸ οὖρον ἀκοντίζει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there roſe but one entire flame, it was taken for a good ſign. In matters of hoſtility, they took moſt notice of the *gall*, and the ἀκρολαμπάς in the flame: and very good reaſon, πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροί, *for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt*. Of the Aſhes too they took ſome notice μαντεῖα σποδοῦ, ſaies *Sophocles*. In the ſmoak they obſerved if it went upright and ſmelt of the fleſh. And ſo at other times they uſed to throw frankinſence and Poppey, and other ſeveral things in the fire, for nothing elſe but to obſerve ſuch things, and to *ſell the ſmoak*. Beſides theſe there were infinite more *Diveliſh* ſorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκρομαντεία or Νεκυομαντεία, was ſometimes by the magical uſe of a *bone*, or a *vain* of a dead body, after the faſhion of the *Theſſalians*, or elſe by powring hot blood into the carcaſſe, to make it anſwer a queſtion, as *Ericto* does in *Lucian*,

Aristoph. in Pace.

Σχ. in Eurip.

c *Sil. Ital.*

In. Eurip. in Phan.

Μάντεις μῆλ᾽
ἔσφαζον, ἐμ-
πύρους τ᾽ ἀκ-
μὰς ῥήξεις τ᾽
ἐσόδμων ὑ-
γρότητ᾽ ἀναν-
τίαν Νίκης
τὸ σῆμα καὶ τοῦ
ἡσσωμένου.

a *In Oedip. Tyr.*

Καλὸν θέα-
μα θυμιαμά-
των ἀέρα
διαφαίρουσι
πλεκτάνην
κάπνου.

——Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit
Protinus aſtrictus caluit cruor, atráque fovit
Vulnera &c.——

Now becauſe the *Ghoſt* or the *Soul* was thus recalled to the body (*——animas reſponſa daturas*) it was therefore ſometimes termed ψυχομαντεία, or Σκιομαντεία, *Divining by the Soul*, or the *Ghoſt*. But ſuch as expected any anſwer thus from the ſoul *then*, muſt be ſure to be kind to the body *before*:

Horace.

Herod. l. 6. ſor *Meliſſa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refuſed to anſwer him, becauſe he had buried her body as he ſhould. But ſurely there was ſomewhat worſe than a ſoul, elſe what need of *luſtration* of the party? Such as *Tireſias* uſed to the [b] *Theban* King, to keep him from the receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was ſometimes by Sea-water, but moſt commonly by that of a *fountain*, and ſo was called πηγομαντεία. It was done ſeverall waies. 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a *Poet* too) δι τῶν ἀπορρήτων ὑδάτων πιόντες μαντικοὶ γινόμενοι, ſaies *Ariſtides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2ly. By throwing things into it to try whether they would ſink or ſwim, as they did *cakes* in the well of *Ino*. 3ly. By *ſeeing the Images* of ſuch things as they ſought for, eſpecially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxeus* in *Achaiah*. 4ly. By *dypping a glaſſe* in the water, to know what would become of a *ſick* man. For as he lookt well or ill in the glaſſe, accordingly they preſumed of his future condition. 5ly. By throwing in *three ſtones*, and obſerving the *round* they made in the ſinking. Sometimes they made uſe of Oyl, or of Wine inſtead of Water: and ſo it was termed χύτλα, as when it was done in a Baſon, λεκανομαντεία. Λιθομαντεία, was by a *Sederitis*, a kind of *loadſtone*, which if they waſht in Spring-water, would ſpeak like a child. With ſuch a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the deſtruction of Troy. Κοσκινομαντεία, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers, and turning round at the naming of the party that ſtole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl.* 3. And I have ſeen it uſed by ſome women, *impiâ fraude*, or *anili ſuperſtitione*; I cannot tell which. I have not leaſure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of δακτυλομαντεία, with *Gyges* his *ring*: or of ὠοσκοπία with *Eggs*, which *Suidas* ſaies *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of κριθομαντεία with *barley*, or of λυχνομαντεία, by the *burning of a candle*, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural Hiſtory*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognoſticks*. To which you may adde their common old-wives-*Sawes* concerning wea-

Paus. in Lacon.

b Sta. l. 4.

Pauſan. in Lacon.

L;30.c.11.

ther or the like, ſuch as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to diſparage thoſe more *Aſtrological* and *Rational*, ſuch as that of *Virgil*.

Luna revertentem, &c. with the reſt.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALL this which I have ſpoken is to conjecture by *things*, but there is a way by *words* alſo; by which according as the words were good or bad, they preſaged ſuch and ſuch events. Such words were called κληδόνες or φῆμαι, from φάναι (ſuitable to the name of *Propheta*:) as *omen* comes from *oramen, quia fit ore* (quoth *Feſtus*.) You may render it *voices* (for ſo we uſe to call thoſe prophetick ſpeeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture alſo does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*; *Pythagorei non ſolum voces deorum obſervarunt, ſed etiam hominum.* Any words that either boded ill, or ſignified that which they diſliked, they called Δύσφημα: and he that uſed them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was ſaid to βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν to *blaſpheme* him φθέγγεσθαι βλασφημίαν *Euripides* calls it, where he ſpeaks of certain ominous ſpeeches let fall at a feaſt by a ſervant, juſt as one of the company was going to drink L. 1. *Divin.*

βλασφημίαν τὶς οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο.

The Latines call it *obſcænare*, and the words themſelves *malè ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may engliſh it *balzening ſpeeches*. Such words as theſe they had alwaies a ſuperſtitious care to avoid: inſomuch that they would ſay inſteed of δεσμωτήριον *a priſon*, οἴκημα *a houſe*. And ſo for Ἐρινύες, Εὐμενίδες; and Σεμναὶ θεαί: for πίθηκος, κάλλιας: for μύσους, ἄγος and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* ſaies of *Nulla ſpes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, or (to ſpeak in the phraſe of *Terence*) *Religio eſt dicere, they made a ſcruple to* *Ion.* 1188. *Epiſt. ad Caſſium.*

ſpeak

ſpeak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſſe with the gods, nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved, then εὐφημεῖν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy daies) *to avoid all aminous expreſſions*, or κακὰς ὄττας (as they called them.) Which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to that party whoſe buſineſſe was then in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and thought them ſo much the worſe. What words were eſpecially counted for ominous, you might give me an account; if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, *viz. De vocibus malè ominatis.* Only thus much I may tell you, that when they firſt ſet about any buſineſſe of concernment, they had a ſpecial care to begin with a *Preface* θεὸς θεὸς, or σὺν πα θεοῖσιν, or ἔσται μὲν εὖ, like to *Perſius* his *hoc benè ſit*, and that old thread-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumq; ſit.* Some words there were, and Proper names of ſuch a ſignification, as it was counted a happineſſe but to hear them ſpoken. For ſo when *Iulus* had ſaid

Menſas etiam conſumimus—— preſently (ſaies *Virgil*) his father laid hold on the *word* and imbraced the omen,

——*ea vox audita laborum*
Prima tulit finem, primámque loquentis ab ore
Eripuit pater——

So *Leotychides*, when he deſired of a *Samian* his aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*, asked what his name was, and being anſwered *Hegeſiſtratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησιστράτῳ δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν for δέχομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν, is the ſame with *them*, that *accipire omen* is with the *Latines*, that is, to make an ominous ſpeech an omen indeed, and *take* it to my ſelf. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *oſtentorum vires in eorum erant poteſtate, quibus oſtendebantur*, ſaies *Pliny*.

Plato l. 7. de Leg.

Now the way to *abominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a ſtone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat, or the like; or elſe if it were an unlucky *ſpeech*, to retort it back again with *εἰς κεφαλὴν σοί, tibi in caput redeat, let it return upon thine own head.* Which perhaps, is an expreſſion borrowed from a cuſtome of the *ἱερεῖα τι*, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians alſo, who when they ſpied any thing in the *victims*, that ſeemed to portend ill to their country, uſed to pray, *εἰς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι*, that *it might return upon the head of the beaſt.* The like perhaps is uſed in the Hebrew, *viz.* שב בראש in ſeveral places of the Scripture: and it puts me in mind of that ſaying in *Seneca, Quis non, ſi admoneatur ut de ſuis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen reſpuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipſius intempeſtivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Inſteed of this ſometimes they would ſay *εἰς ἀγαθὸν μοί, dii monuerint meliora.* Sometimes upon ſuch an unlucky ſpeech heard while they did ſuch a thing, they would do it *another way*: or do it *again*; as one in *Euripides*, upon ſomebody ſpeaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

Herodot.

Obadiæ v. 15. & 1. Kings 2. v. 44. &c.

Moſch. Idyl.

Things ominous, ſome of them were in the parties own body, and thoſe were either. 1. *Marks*, ſuch as *ἐλαῖαι ſpots* like oyl. 2. Παλμοί. 3. Πταρμοί, *παλμικὰ οἰωνίσματα*, were ſuch as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muſcles, called in Latine *Saliſſationes*, and *βόμβος*, or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the *right* ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the [b] *right eye.* Of theſe things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*; and *Poſidonius* another (ſaies *Suidas*) which he called Παλμικὸν οἰώνισμα.

[b] Ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός. *Theocr. Id.* 3.

Πταρμὸς *Sneezing*, was ſo ſuperſtitiouſly eſteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for *a god*, *τὸν πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα*, ſaies *Ariſtotle* in his Problems. Which was the reaſon, ſaith *Athenæus*, that they abſtained from eating the *brain*, out of which the ſneezing came; as alſo the cauſe of that uſual prayer of ſalutation Ζεῦ σῶσον at a ſneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long noſe,

L. 2.

as if he had ſtood ſo far out, that he could not hear himſelf when he ſneezed.

> Οὐδὲ λέγει, Ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πτάρῃ, οὐ γὰρ ἀκούει
> Τῆς ῥινὸς πολὺ γὰρ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.

Inſomuch that if a man ſneezed at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſſe undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was) had ſo little *ſenſe* himſelf, as to fetch advice from another mans *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſteed of a genius or a *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man Sneez'd in the *afternoon* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning; and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in the *Problemes*. If a man Sneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another hapned to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happened on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground then ſuch a ſneeze, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε. Such a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perſwaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them ſuch an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*; as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his return, and revenging himſelf of his enemies.

Caſſium.
Plutarch. de

> Ὣς φάτο, Τηλέμαχος δὲ μέγ' ἔπταρεν —— and ſo *Penelope* took it (for ſaies ſhe, laughing and rejoycing) Οὐχ ὁρᾶς ἐμὸς υἱὸς ἐπέπταρε πᾶσιν ἔπεσσι.

And the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholſome*, σωτηριῶδες: which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ὅτω γὰρ Σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long ago ſlighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiſer ſort for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happened to ſneeſe, as he was going on ſhipbord being therefore diſſwaded from going by the Maſter of the ſhip, burſt out a laughing and ſaid, ποῖον γὰρ οἰώνισμα εἰ τοσούτων πταρνυμένων εἷς ἔπταρε, *What great omen can it be for one man to ſneeze, when there be ſo many together.* But among the *Romans* a great deal more: for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ ſi ſuſcipiamus & pedis offenſio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & ſternutamenta erunt obſervanda.*

L. 2. de Div.

Ominous *actions*, or *accidents*, were ſuch as theſe following. Firſt at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much uſed, to take a piece of the *cake* or *any* other thing; and carry it home *bonæ ſcævæ gratia*, as we ſay *for the lucks ſake.* This piece of cake, or pudding, or what ſhall I call it, they called by the name of [c] *ὑγίεια, ſanitas.* If in ſacrificing the Prieſt did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky *accident.* This obſervation the Romans called, *caducum auſpicium.* 2ly, At a *Feaſt* this action was lucky, to crown the Cup with a Garland ——*pateramque Coronâ induit.*

The reaſon (ſaies *Euſtathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, becauſe a Garland repreſents a circle, τῷ δὲ τοιούτῳ σχήματι καὶ τελειότατον καὶ πολυχωρητότατον, *which is the moſt compleat figure of all, and holds moſt.* Unlucky *accidents* were ſuch as theſe, *viz.* The coming in of a ſtrange black dog, the cracking of the table, the ſpilling of wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a book) taking away while one was a drinking) or a ſuddain ſilence. In putting on of the cloaths the right ſide muſt be ſerved firſt; and therefore if a ſervant had but given his Maſter the *left* ſhooe firſt, he was ſure to have [d] it. And thus much at *Home. Abroad* they had for their omens, σύμβολα ἐνόδια, or συμβόλους ὄρνιθας. That is (ſaies the *Scholiaſt*) τοὺς πρῶτα ξυναντῶντας, *occurſacula, any thing that met them firſt.* Of ſuch as theſe one named *Hippocrates* (not the Phyſitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books.

[c] ὑγίεια ἄλφιτα οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ πεφυραμένα, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ φερόμενον, εἴτε μύρον, εἴτε θαλλὸς. ſaies *Heſychius.*

οἰκέτης ἁμαρτὼν τὰ ὑποδήματα διδοὺς πρῶτον ἀριστερὸν τὸ δεξιόν. *Chryſoſtom.*

[d] *In Ariſtoph. Av. Suidas.*

If a Snake lay ſo in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with whelps, or a Fixen with Cubs; O! theſe things were *δυσάντητα, δυσπρόσιτα ϗ ἀποτρόπαια θεάματα*, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable *ſights*. So if a man happened to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an *Eunuch, ἀπὸ ποδῶν ἀναςρέφειν*, ſaith *Lucian, he muſt ſtand forty foot off.* Nay if we met but with a Weezle or ſuch a creature in the croſſe way, we will have no *Comitia* ſit for all this day, And c *Artemidorus* will give you a reaſon, why γαλῆ ſhould be ſo much taken notice of, in his d *διαδρομῇ*, or running by: becauſe (forſooth) it is *ἰσόψηφος* to *δίκη*, that is (as I think) the letters in each word will ſignify the ſame number. *viz.* 42. But if it be ſo, how came ſhe to be ſuch an enemy to *δίκη*, as to interrupt the courſe of *juſtice*? perhaps, it was only then, when they omitted that uſual ceremony, of leading her about the houſe for a *luſtration*, to purge it of *unlucky* things. Infinite many more ſorts of divinations might I mention of this kind, but it will ſufficiently teſtify what regard the Grecians had of ſuch bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himſelf had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens *μαντικὸν ἀπὸ κληδόνων*. So likewiſe at *Smyrna* he had his *κληδόνων ἱερὸν his Temple* for omens too (ſaies *Pauſanias*) where the faſhion was for him that came for an omen, firſt to whiſper his queſtion in the *Idol's* ears, and then preſently ſtopping his own, to go forth of the temple, and the firſt voyce heard after he came out muſt go for the Oracle. And ſo much of divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and 'Ile have done.

Lucian.

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

c L. 3.

b Plutarch de Philadel.

Ariſtoph. in Eccleſ.

In Eliacis.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former, becauſe in it (as *Cicero* ſaies) *temeritas & caſus, non ratio & concilium valet.* For though there might be *caſus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *perſon* to give the ſignification. It was *invented* by *Minerva*: onely *Jupiter* took away her *credit*, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. *Caſting*, or *Drawing* lots, was either with *ἀστράγαλοι*, or *tali caſt* into a box: or with *teſſera* (*γραμματεῖα Plutarch* calls them) little woodden tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a pot, or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with marks upon them for the names, ſometimes taken out of a pot, and ſometimes thrown into a well (whether to ſee which came up firſt, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of the wooden tables, that they were uſed in the temple of *Hercules* Βουραϊκὸς in *Achaia*[b]. And the like (they ſay) were uſed by the *Parliament of five hundred*, with the characters of the ten firſt letters upon them, to ſhow to which of the ten Courts every Judge was to go (together with the Image of a rod the enſign of *Mercury*, the god of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the ſign of *Alpha*, and they had the reſt to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. *One* of theſe waies or *all* (which I know not) was ſo much uſed by the *Thria* (the *three Nimphes* reported to have been the nurſes of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thria* came to be uſed for *ſortes*, *lots*, according to that

Πολλοὶ θριοβόλοι παῦροι δέ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες

Calculi were much uſed in *ancient* times in *Judging of cauſes*, and in *wreſtling matches*, and the like: though (it ſeems) in *Cicero*'s time not ſo much, *Quis enim magiſtratus, aut quis vir illuſtrior utitur ſortibus, cæteris vero in locis planè refrixerunt.*

In Fabio.

[b] *De iis ſupra*

L. 2. Divin.

runt. In their *Wreſtling matches* I have read that they had a ſilver *pot* called the κάλπις, into which they put little *pellets* about the bigneſſe of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and thoſe that happened to draw the *ſame* mark were to Wreſtle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named ἔφεδρον) was to *come in at Kings* (as we ſay) or to wraſtle at laſt with him that had the maſtery. Pag. 118. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, has been ſhewed by another already. But that they were uſed alſo by perſons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Ariſtophanes in pace.* For by reaſon that one only was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgment was reverſed: the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt; and he that drew firſt, was commonly called by the name of Ἑρμῆς the *Mercury.* Thus in the ſhips in a ſtorm, they uſed to caſt lots * L. 7. who ſhould be thrown over bord for a κάθαρμα. Thus *Euſtathius* ſaies, the lot fell to * *Iſmene*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah.* And ſo in moſt of the Temples, that were reſorted unto for Oracles, there were οἱ κλῆροι *Lots* and a table of purpoſe to *throw* for it; after the receiving of the anſwer; Pyth. Od. 4. for ἐὰν βάλλοντός μου τόδε ἀναβῇ ἀποτελεσθήσεται τόδε· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἀποτελεσθήσεται (ſaies the Σχ. upon *Pindar*) *if I throw ſuch a caſt, the prophecy will be fulfilled. If I do not, it will not.* Nay in the Lanes, and the Streets, and the croſſe waies they had their *ſortes viales* (ἐνοδίους συμβόλους *Æſchylus* calls them, and ἐνόδιος is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried ſo many cuts about him, with ſeverall inſcriptions: and the next boy he met within the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Prophecy as the beſt, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg.* 1.

Ille ſacras pueri ſortes ter ſuſtulit, illi
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.

Artem-

a*Artemidorus* in his *Proœmium* ſpeaks of τῶν ἐν ἀγορ. μάντεων, Diviners in the *Market*. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his book *de Iſide & Oſiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Oſiris* in a cheſt, and thrown him into the Sea. *Iſis*, as he was wandering too and fro to ſeek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play; and asking of them, they ſhewed him the place. ἐκ τούτου τὰ παιδάρια μαντικὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν οἴεσθαι Αἰγυπτίους καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τούτων. κλῃδόνι παιζόντων ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ φθεγγομένων ὅτι ἂν τύχωσι. Beſides theſe waies already mentioned, they had another, by opening ſuch a Poet in one or more places, and taking the firſt verſes they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called στιχομαντείαν, or ῥαψῳδομαντείαν. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgilianæ*: which they ſay *Severus Alexander* made uſe of, when he met with this verſe of *Virgil*,

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the Chriſtians themſelves have not ſtickt to practiſe the like upon the Bible, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* Ἀνοίξειν ἐκεῖνο δεῖν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ πρόβλημα τῶν ἁπάντων ἀπορειῶν. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counſel out of the New Teſtament, καὶ εὗρεν ὁριζόμενον ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχειμάσαι, and to have been thereby perſwaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choyce of divers fatidical verſes, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Auſtin. l.* 4. *Confeſ. cap.*3. Makes mention of theſe lotteries. *Si enim de Paganis poeta cujuſpiam longè aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum ſortem quis conſulit, mirabiliter conſonus negotio ſæpè verſus exiret.* And this way they ſay that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may ſuffice of κλῆροι *ſortes*, for by κλῆρος in the *ſingular* number, is many times meant the hint, or occaſion given to Diviners to ſpeak what they did. xτὸ σημεῖον τὸ διδόμενον τοῖς μαντευομένοις ἀφ' οὗ οἱ μάντεις ὁρμώμενοι προφητεύουσι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος.

x *In Eurip. Hippol.*

For the Diviners themſelves, *Vates*, or *μάντεις*, as they did but little better then *fain* like Poets; ſo they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet [a] ſaies of *Caſſandra* [b] χλωροκόμῳ στεφάνῳ δάφνας κοσμηθεῖσαν. For why? ——*venturi præſcia laurus.* The Laurel they took to be a thing of ſpecial and ſoveraign vertue, both to ſet a man a Prophecying (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it θεσπίσιον δάφνην) and to preſerve him from any evill, and therefore very much uſed in Luſtrations, inſomuch that they would commonly have the ſtaves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurell wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytaneum* like *publick* perſons. χρησμολόγοι μετεῖχον τῆς ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως, ſaies the Scholiaſt on *Ariſtophanes.* There was one more *noted* Fraternity of them, called the μυσάδης· εἶδος τι ϗ φρατρία μάντεων, ſaies *Heſych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis.* The eldeſt was of *Eleon* in *Bœotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedæmonian* women of their madneſſe) and the youngeſt of *Caphua* in *Arcadia* of *Locris* ſome ſay) otherwiſe called Κύδας, and Ἀλήτης. Anſwering to theſe three *men*, the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* (in *Irene*) ſaies there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythræa*, and *Sardiaca.* But the firſt (I believe) had moſt of the *Spirit of* [c] *Python; and brought her Maſter moſt gain by* Southſaying.

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done ſo much ſo ill already, I muſt be forced to do more yet, and excuſe one fault with another. For my deſire is to leave thee fully ſatisfied with my reaſons why I did it at all, & why I did it no better. The cords that drew *me to do it (and* drawn *I was) were* three, *ſuch as twiſted together I could by no means break,* viz. *Firſt the importunity of*

my

[a] *Eurip. Iphig. in A. v. 757.*

[b] *In Androm.*

[c] *Acts c. 16. v. 16.*

my friend. 2. *The neceſſity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Cuſtoms, for the underſtanding of Authors: and* 3. *The hopes which I had, by* Employment *(as by an* Iſſue) *to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The cauſes why I did it no* better, *are as many.* viz. Firſt *want of years and judgement, having done the moſt part of it in my* Tirocinium *(when I took more delight in theſe ſtudies) as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited. 2ly. Want of health. And 3ly. Want of time and leaſure, being called away by occaſions, that might not be neglected, and by friends that could not be diſobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oyl be not all loſt, I have as much as I deſired my ſelf, and thou haſt no more than I owed thee.*

Z. BOGAN.

Μούσων οὗτος ἀοιδὸς ἰδ' ἵστορος, Ἐρεχθείδης
Μητέρας οὐχ ἑλὼν, Πατέρας δ' ἐγώ. Σῶμα γὰρ ἄλλος
Ἄλλος ἔδωκε ψυχὴν, ὅπως ψυχὴ ἐντελέχεια.
Ἠδὺ, Πόνων, Πλήρωμα, τὸ πρὶν πόρισμα, τέτευξαι.
Εὖγε, τὰ δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἔτ' αἰεὶ
Μᾶλλον ἀποσπάδεσιν Σκυθικῇ κεκρυμμένα πέρᾳ.

Ἐκδώσει ἀντὶ νέφ τὸ νέον ; τάφος, ὅρκοι, ἔρωτες,
Θρῆνοι, λεχοὶ, Ἱκέται, Μαντοσύνη, Πόλεμος.

R. WARRE.

è C. C. C.

FINIS.

A

Acerba non matura viro, 166
Ἀδίκημα, after sentence 122
Ἀειφυγία 129
Αἰτία, properly before enditement 122
Αἴσακος 306
Αἰκίας δίκη 104
Alcibiadis dictum 177
Ἀλιτήριοι, unde 276
Ἀκοὴ τετελευτηκότων, upon hearsay 117
Ἀκόλουθοι, παῖδες, Ganymedes 223
Ἀκρωτήρια ἀκρωτηριάζειν 239
Ἀκρόπολις, 5.6. circuitus ejus 9
Ἀκροθίνια, ἀπαρχαί 57
[illegible] κὴ ἀκρέων 292
Ἀγεωργίου δίκη, quomodo differt ab ἐνδείξει 148
Amoris indicia 156
Amatoria philtra 158
Ἀμφιδρόμια, unde ἀμφιδρόμιος 213
Ἀμνηστία Jusjurandum μὴ μνησικακήσειν 107
Ἀμφισβητήσεως δίκη 144
Amyniæ Æschyli fratris Philadelphia 128
Ἀνακαλεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς 235
Ἀνακαλυπτήρια 171
Ἄναρχοι ἡμέραι αἱ ὑπερβάλλουσαι ἢ ἐπαγόμεναι, epacted 60, 61
Ἀνάκρισις 38
Ἄνακτες 43
Ἀναυμαχίου δίκη
Ἀνδρολήψιον quid. 138. [illegible] ibid
Annus Atticus 160
Ἀντιγραφή 144
Ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκην 147
Ἀναθήματα Delphica 342
[illegible] 312
[illegible] 143
Ἀπαύλια 247
Ἀποκηρύξαι, ἀποκήρυκτος 226
Ἀπαγωγή, carrying one before the Magistrate 140
Ἀπόλειψις κὴ ἀποπέμψις quomodo differunt 140. 193
Ἀποτιμητὸς δίκη 140
Ἀποτίμημα 192
[illegible] 159
Apollo 36. Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος 87
Ἀπομαγδαλίαι, [illegible] 123
Ἀποδημίας vel ξενίας δίκη 145
Ἄρασις 149
Ἀφορμῆς δίκη, seu ἐνθήκης ibid.
Ἀντωμοσία κὴ ἐξωμοσία 146
[illegible] 223
Areopagus; Areopagitæ 182
Ἀρεοπαγίτου στυγνότερος 128
Ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ σιωπηλότερον 135
Ἀρδηττός 288
Ἀρνῳδοὶ Homeristæ 306
Ἁρμάτιον μέλος 173
Ἀργίας δίκη 143
Ἄρκτοι, ἀρκτεία, ἀρκτεύειν 168
Arma desensiva, 319. Armes offensive 323
Ἀροτοὶ triplex 204
Ascriptio in φρατρίας, album lexiarchicum &c. 226
[illegible] unde 298
[illegible]
Ἀσκωλιάζειν, quid 293
Asyla Atheniensium 53
Ἀττικὴ ab Ἀκτή. 4. [illegible] 3
[illegible] 14
Ἀττικὸν βλέπος. Impudence 16 Attica

tica fides
Ἀθηναίων Circuitus earundem, 9. portæ 11.12. Laus 13
Ἀναιδείας λίθος 243
Αὐτόχειρ 238
Aucho dea 37
Ἄξονες, κύρβεις, στῆλαι 97
Ἀγεωργίου δίκη 345
Ἀρχιβωμὸς φίλος 326
Ἀξίωμα ἀπερειζόμενα 232

B

Βασιλικῶν καὶ φονικῶν δικαστήρια 235
Βεβαιώσεως δίκη 243
Βελτίω δίαιταν Prov. 133
Βοῦς δικάζει prov. in case of deferring sentence. 139
[illegible] 98
Βλάβης δίκη 140
Βρέτας, prius ξόανα dictum primò σανίς 53
Brickbuilding first invented by whom 8
Βωμολόχος. βωμὸς & ἐσχάρα dift. 380

C

Cephiſus amnis 13
Claſſes tres Populi Athenienſis & Ægyptii 19
Caſaubonus reprehenſus & Theophraſti Characteres emendati 12
De Capillis tondendis. c.25.l. 5
Cæna Hecates a beggerly feaſt 315
Cibus & potus Græcorum 299
Cedar called νεκρῶν ζωή 263
Comœdia unde dicta 23.80
Comitia Attica 101
Convivium triplex, ἔρανος, γάμος, εἰλαπίνη 293
Convivantium geſtus 303
Crambe, quaſi Κορίμβλη. 297
Cupido 151.152
Cunabula 211
Crematio corporum & ritus cremandi 259. 262

D

Δεῖπνον, δόρπον, ἀριστισμός, ἐπιδειπνηρίς 292
Δεκάτη. δεκάτην θύειν 213
Demetrius Phalareus. 300. Statius ornatus 32
Demoſthenis dictum. 290
Δημιουργοὶ qui 18
Δῆμοι prius dicti Ναυκραρίαι, num. 174.24
Δῆμοι καθύπερθεν & ἀνώπερθεν. ibid. nomina eorum vide pag. 25-26.
Διαψηφίσεις 28.30
Diacrii 18
Διαδικασίας δίκη 141
Διαιτηταί. 135. *Arbitrators* unde δίαιταν ἐπιτρέπειν
Διάγνωσις 236
Διαμαρτυρία 144
Διδάσκειν dicuntur Poetæ 85.86
Δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν καὶ κακοτεχνιῶν 117
Δίκαι ἐμπορικαί 315
Δικαστήρια καθόλου decem 135. viz. πεντακοσίων, Ἀρδηττός. Ἡλιαστῶν, ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ &c. 105
Divinationes variæ per μανίας, per ſomnum &c. 342
Divinatio artificioſa per ornithomanteiam &c. 356

Divortia

Divortia Græcorum 162
Διοσημίαι 192
Διφυὴς Cecrops cur ſic dictus 168.
Διωμοσία, an oath of both parties: pleader ὡς πράξαντι διώκειν, defendant, ὡς οὐκ ἔπραξεν ἀποφαίνειν 113
Dracones cur incubantes Theſauris finguntur. 211. ἀπὸ τοῦ δέρκειν videre. 211
Δοκιμασία 145
Δῶμα ἀνεπίζευκτον. i. γάμος ἀτελὴς 179
Δῶρον γραφὴ 145

E

Ἔδνος, ἔδνιος χιτὼν 171
Ἔγκλημα, inditement 144
Ἡλιασταὶ, ἡλιαία ab ἡλίζεσθαι 105
Ἡραῖον βαδίζειν. Junonium incedere. 45. Ἡραῖαι 257
Ἐγκέφαλος, not to be eaten, or named 303
Εἰσαγγελία, εἰσαγγελτικὸς νόμος 139
Εἰς διαιτητῶν αἵρεσιν 142
Εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν 144
Εἰλείθυια. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν 209
Sic Egeria ab egerendo partus. Facilina a facilis. φωσφόρος & Lucina a lucem ferendo ibid.
οἱ Εἰωθότες, Seniores quare ſic dicti 140
Ἑκατομβαιὼν July the firſt month afterwards in the yeare Μαιμακτηριὼν October 65
Ἐκκλησία 102
Ἐκκλητεύεσθαι, to be fined for not appearing to witneſſe after citation 145
Ἐκ Κέρατος πύλαι, ὅτι ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ὅτι ἐλεφαίρονται. vid. & alias rationes. 351
Ἐκκεῖσθαι 122
Ἐκδεδόναι, pro ἀπομισθοῦν ibid.
Ἔλεγος, παρὰ τὸ λέγειν ἒ, ἒ, ἒ, 255
Ἐλέγχας, after proof. 122
Ἔνατα feſta 271
Ἔνδειξις againſt taken 137
Ἐνεχυριάζεσθαι to give baile 119
Ἐνεπίσκημμα 147
Ἐννεάκρουνος
Ἐνοικίου δίκη, οὐσίας καὶ καρποῦ
Ἐξούλης δίκη, ab ἐξίλλειν 143
Ἐνύπνια, φθινοπωρινὰ ψευδῆ 349
Ἐπώνυμοι ἥρωες 134
Ἐπιγράφειν to fine for dammages 119
Ἐπιδικασίας δίκη, ἐπίδικος 141
Ἐπιλαμβάνειν ὕδωρ, ῥῖνα 115
Ἐπίπροιξ προίξ, ἐπίφερνα 1. 5
Ἐπίσκηψις 144
Epithalamium, why ſung with a great noiſe 184
Ἐπίτροπος, Tutor, ἐπιτροπευόμενοι, δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς 173
Ἐπιτάφιοι λόγοι καὶ ἀγῶνες 270
Ἐπὶ κεφαλαίοις λόγος 14
Ἐπὶ χειροτονία νόμων 100
Ἐπωβελία quid 137
Equites ἱππεῖς 19
Ἕρδειν facere, Sacrificare 56

Estates, *paſſed either* κατὰ δόσιν *or* κατὰ διαθήκην 238
Eumenides 44
Εὐόρκης pro Εὐσεβὴς 288
Εὐπατρίδαι 18
Eupolis his Baptæ, *ominous to himſelfe* 91
Εὐτράπελος, unde deriv. 153
Εὐφημεῖτε, [illegible]
Εὐχόμεθα 58
Ἐξηγηταὶ 127
Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη 144
Extiſpicina 36
Ephetæ, ἐφέσιμοι 123
Ἐφ' ὕδωρ, ὁ [illegible] τὴν ἐ-[illegible] τῆς κλεψύδρας 130
Ἐχῖνος, εἰς ἐχῖνον ἐμβάλλειν 132

F

Eggs thrown at the head of the Bride εὐτεκνίας σημεῖον
de Ferali amiculo 244
Fire ordeal, parallell to the Greek μυδρός 287

G

Γάμος unde 190
Γενέθλιαι δύσεις 212
Γεωμόροι 18
Γηροβοσκεῖν 290
Going ſoftly, i.e. *Mourning* 256
Γοητεία à γόος luctus cur. 51
Governments, *ſeverall kinds of it among the Ancients* 28
Γραφὴ, *Actio*, formula, *a writ* 137
Græca fide i.e. *with ready mony* 144
Γοργάτων λαβεῖν 278
Γύλιον. Γυλιαύχενες 322
γυναικωνῖτις, eodem ſenſu quo ἀνδρῶνες, παρθενῶνες 199

H

Helena, *why ſaid to be hatcht of an egge* 200
Herba quædam mirabilis Athenis in *Acropoli* 8
Hoſpites ἰδιόξενοι excipiendi 310
Hoſpes ab hoſtium, vel oſtium *quare* 311
Hypocritæ, *Actors properly* 82

I

Ἰατρὸς καὶ μάντις, olim pro eodem habebantur 336
Ἱκέται, 175. ἱκετήριοι κλάδοι 276
Idololatria *Athenienſium* 36
Infantium Lotio & unctio 190
expoſitio 216
Io pæan, unde 41, 42
Judicialia nomina 159
Judicium ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, 121. ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ. Πρυτανείῳ, φρεαττοῖ &c. 131
Ἴυγξ, paſſerculus 159
Jurandi Genera & formulæ 282
Juramenti Magni ritus 284. Parvi 286
Ἰωνία. Ἰάς. Javan

K

Καγγελωτοῦ Κιγκλὶς
Κάδος, Καδισμός, 118. στρόπτιγος καὶ ὕστερος ibid.
Καινοφθεια 167
Κακώσεως δίκη 140
Καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ quare
Κατάρα in bonam, & malam partem 121
Καταγιῶται, pollinctores 244
Κατηγορίαι, *of diverſe ſorts* 137
Κατηγορίας δίκη 140
Κατεκκλησία, *Aſſembly ſummond out of the fields* 102
Κῆνος, Κῆμος Amaſſum ut τάνος 164
Κενοτάφιον, κενοτάφια 237

ὁ Κερα-

ὁ Κεραμεικὸς 258
Κέρατα, καὶ γέρανον 57
κεράτων, ἢ Κέρατα ποτήρια 302
Κερατὼν, κερατινὸς βωμὸς 343
Κληδόνων ἱερὸν, ἀπὸ κληδόνων μαντικὴ 370
Κλοπῆς δίκη 140
Κλεψύδρα 115
Κλώζειν συρίττειν, to hiſse 89
Κόθορνος dictus Theramenes, cur 31
Κοσκινομαντεία &c. id genus 364
Κορώνη ominous not κορωναι 180
Κότταβος, κοττάβιον, κοτταβίζειν 157
Κουρὰ πένθιμος 256
Κουροτρόφῳ γῇ προθύειν 223
Κουροτρόφος Epitheton Græciæ ibid
Κριταὶ ἐκ Διονυσίων, vel Διονυσιακοὶ κριταὶ πέντε, the Tragic Judge: 67
Κυαμοτρὼξ ἀντὶ τοῦ δικαστὴς 118
Κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν. Alleg. 118
Κώδωνος ὀξέως ἀκούοντες Gullings 222
Κωδωνοφορεῖν, κωδωνίζειν idem. Item tentare. Ἀκωδώνιστα, ἀπείρατα 217

Λ

Λαῖνος χιτὼν quid ſign. 263
Lallare, βαυκαλᾶν 216
Λαμπὰς γαμήλιος 183
Λαῶν ἄφεσις unde Miſſa 55
Λειποναυτίου δίκη 145
Λέσχαι 290
Liberi quadruplices. Γνήσιοι. Νόθοι Σκότιοι. Παρθενίαι 221, 222.
Liberorum Educatio, 223. Caſtigatio 224
Leges & legiſlatores Attici 94
Λίθος ὕβρεως καὶ ἀναιδείας; or rather ἀναιτίας 127
Livius emendatus
Λοβοὶ, tips of the eares, why from λαμβάνειν 116
Λουτρὸν Νυμφικὸν 380
Λῦτρα πυρύστατα 244
Λύματα, unde Lymax flu. 215
Λυσιζώνη Diana cur 183
Luſtratio Domûs funeſtæ 272

M

Μὰ, partic. uſed in negative oathes. 284
Μαντικὴ ſecundum Platonem quaſi μανικὴ 335
Mars 42
Μασχαλίζειν. i.e. Ἀκρωτηριάζειν 239
Μαρτυρία quomodo differt ab ἐκμαρτυρία 145
Mercurius 39
Menſes πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι 64
Menſium nomenclatura, comparatio, ſchema 46. 66.
Μεμιλτωμένον σχοινίον 109
Μεταλλικαὶ 148. μετάλλων ἀγράφου δίκη 149
Μηνὸς φθίνοντος, μεσοῦντος ἱσταμένου 63
Μηλοβολεῖν 161
Μῆλα ἀπὸ δεδηγμένα
Μίγμα καὶ μίλυγμα νεκροῦ l. 5.
Μὴ ὤν 147
Μητι χροικαστήριον 134
Meloxæ 348
Meurſius reprehenſus 10. 134
Militum pœnæ, præmia, ſepultura, 328
Μισθώσεως οἴκου δίκη 141
Mos amorem ſignificandi 163
Mulierum amor 154. σκληραγωγία 194 honeſtiora opificia, 196. οἰκεία 199
Μύλοι unde 299

N

Ναὶ & νὴ uſed in affirmative oathes 284
Νεκρομαντεία 365
Νεκροῦ στεφάνωσις. 146. πρόθεσις. 147. ἐκφορὰ 147
Νεὼς, ἱερὸν 52
Νόμος unde 95
Νόμοι Δράκοντος, ibid. νόμοι στοιχικοὶ, ibid.
Νόμος ὁκάτωθεν 98
Νόμος 1: ἔθος, ibid: ἄγραφος, vel ἔγχωρος 99
τὰ Νόμιμα, eodem ſenſu quo lat. juſta 234
Νυκτὸς ἐνταφιασθεὶς νεκρὸν ἐκκομίζειν 248

Nuptiæ Græcorum 166
Nutrices duplices. Τιτθαὶ ϗ Τροφοὶ 116

O

Offa Cerberi. 243, μελιττοῦτα 244
Οἰνιστήρια 230
Οἰνοχοεῖν ſolitæ filiæ,
Οἰνόπτης quis 294
Οἶνος ἄκρατος ϗ κεκερασμένος 301
Ὀλιγαρχία 29
Ὄμνυμι pro εὔχομαι 282
Ὀνείρων ἀποκλύζειν, ὀνειροκριτικὸν 48
Ὄνειρος. 1: ὄν εἴρειν. Ὄναρ, ὄντος ἄρσις 347
Ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν prohibited 99
Ὁπλῖται triplices 316
Oraculum Pythium &c. 316. Templum Delphicum ibid.
Oracula φιλιππίζειν ſolita 341
Oracula, cur quomodo & quando ceſſaverint 345
Orationes funebres 270
Ὅρκος ab Orcus 283
Ὅρκος μέγας ϗ μικρὸς 282
Ὅρκος Ἀφροδίσιος 155
Ὅρκος ἐπὶ τομίων 127
Οὐρανία Venus. Item luſus pilæ 159
Ὀχλοκρατία 39

Π

Pagus quid. unde 122
Παιδερασταί 152
παράβυστον μεῖζον ϗ μέσον. 133. Situated ἐν ἀφανεῖ τῆς πόλεως. hence ἐν παραβύστῳ i.e. λάθρα ibid.
παραγραφὴ & παραμαρτυρία 146
παρανόμων δίκη 146
παραπυρεῖν τὰ σώματα 269
παραχορήγημα ϗ παρασκήνιον 83
Pauperes ſublevandi 313
παρακαταθήκης δίκη 140
παρακαταβολὴ 144
παράσιτοι propriè ἱερεῖς.
Parentalia 271
Πάτταλος διαπατταλευθῆναι 118
πελειάδες, πελειαὶ, *old Propheteſſes*, quaſi πεπελειωμέναι 346
πεντακόσιοι. 140. βουλὴ ἐσταύσιος. 180 fiunt ἑξακόσιοι 209
De peregrinis excipiendis 308
Pelargi, pelargicum 8
Pediæi, paralii 19
περιρραντήριον ἔξω ϗ ἔσω 53
Perjurii religio 288
ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις 316
περίστια τὰ καθάρσια, περιστίαρχος 103
Perenne auſpicari. 326. διαβατήρια θύειν ibid.
Perjuries not puniſht among the Greeks, or Romans, why 217
πλαίσιον 83
πηγομαντεία 364
πνὺξ, *the place of meeting* παρὰ τὸ πυκνοῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ ἄνδρας, alias petra.
Petitus reprehenſus.
ποινὴ quaſi φονὴ a φόνος 133. propriè ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων dicitur *ibid.*
πολύχρυσος Ἀφροδίτη cur dicta 174
Pollux emendatus 134.181
πομπεύειν conviciari. πομπεία. ὕβρις, λοιδορία 85
Poſſardus reprehenſus 150
πολέμιος στρατηγίας ϗ πυθοτηρείας 227
πρόγραμμα 106
προγάμια, προτέλεια 168
προδοσίας δίκη 148
προδόται μὴ θάπτεσθαι νόμος 260
πρόκλησις 147
πρόσκλησις ἀπρόσκλητοι δίκαι 147
πρὸς, καὶ τὶ πρὸς, *and ſomewhat more.* 139
πρόστατοι πρόξενοι 309
πρινίδιον, Ilex. *an holme* 48
de Pritanæis 102
πόθος flos quidam. πόθοι coronæ quibus ἐστεφάνουν τὸν τύμβον 268
πτύειν 74
πταρμὸς, 48. Διὸς 367. σωτηριώδης 368

Πυγόστολος, ad nates usque succincta 202
Puerperarum religio, 266. Lustratio 214
Puerperium 280
Πυθίαν, κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐν Πυθίῳ ἀποπατῆσαι, prov. 54
πυρφόροι, οὐδὲ πυρφόροι, Prov. 54
πυρφόροι, οὐδὲ πυρφόρος, Prov. *not a mothers son escaped* 56

Q

Quadruplatores cur ita dicti 137
Quince-Apple to be eaten between the new married Bride, and Bridegroom 179

R

Ῥαφανίδωσις pœna adulterii 202
Recta quid 197
Reges, cur ad radices montium ſepulti 258
Requiſites in a husband. 87. τεσσαρακοντέτην εἶναι μὴ ξένον, μὴ ἄλλην γυναῖκα ἔχοντα 187
Requiſites in a Wife 189
Ritus convivandi varii
Ritus Bellici. 316. indicendi bellum 326
prælia committendi 316
Ritus legatos excipiendi 327
Ritus lugendi in funere 254
Ritus, divinandi. *vid.* divinatio.

S

Sacerdotia Græcorum 55
Sacrificiorum genera & loca 280
Saturnus 42
Saturni compedes exoluti 160
Satyrica 85
Σαυρωτὴρ quaſi σταυρωτὴρ
Schalliger reprehenſus 313
Σεισάχθεια 96
Σέλινος apium. Σελίνου δεῖται, prov. *Of one deſperately ſick* 268
Sepultura. 233. Neceſſitas ejus 234. locus 237
Σημεῖα αὐτουργίας 176
[illegible] 275
Σίτου δίκη 143
Σκιαμαντεία 369
Σκόλιοι, *not opposed to* νόμος ὄρθιος 307
Somnia. 358. eorum genera, Allegorica & Theorematica 359
de Sortibus. 371. Sortes Homericæ, Virgilianæ &c. ibid.
Σπερμολόγος 291
Σπλάγχνα, *the entrails, also the heart, hence* ἀνὴρ εὔσπλαγχνος, ἄσπλαγχνοι, & σπλάγχνα ἐλέους 59
Spolia *twofold* Σκῦλα, *from the dead.* Λάφυρα *from the living* 33
Στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων dictus Conſtantin. M. poſt. μεγάλ. δόξ. 33
Στῆλαι. στηλιτευτικὸς λόγος 97
Σύγκλητος 102
Συγκομιδὴ καὶ ἐκκομιδὴ 243
Σύμβολον 40
Συμβόλαια ἐνόδια occurſacula 369
Συμβολαίων δίκη 140
Σύγκλεισις ἡμερῶν 146
Συμποσίαρχος. συμποσίου ἐπιμελητής. δειπνοκλήτωρ 106
Συνήγοροι, ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνηγορεῖν 116
Συνθήκης δίκη 140
Συνῶν συνουσία differt a γάμος 190
Superſtitio Athenienſium 47
De Supplicibus Sacris 274
Σωτήρων ἱερεὺς dictus *Antigonus* 77

T

Ταραντῖνον, διαφανὲς ἔνδυμα 161
Tempus ſumendi cibos 291
Τετρακόσιοι dicti πεντακισχίλιοι, quare 31. Τετραετηρὶς 60. 61.
Templa Ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀντέρωτος 151
Τέλος pro γάμος, τελεῖσθαι pro γῆμαι, hinc προτέλεια 170
Τηλέφιλον quaſi δηλέφιλον 156
Τηλύγετος τίς quis ſecundũ Pollucẽ 122
Thalla dea unde 37
Θεοὶ δώδεκα. 37. Ἀνθήλιοι 45
Θεὸς ἄγνωστος 38

Θεῶν χεῖρες ὕπτιαι cur 46
Θύρα ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοί 258
Θῆτες, Thetes unde 19
Θήκη, σορὸς, πύελος, a Coffin 263
Θεωρικὸν à θέας, quia in Theatris deos celebrabant 93
Θεσμοθέται, Θεσμοθέσιον, οἱ ἐπὶ Θεσμοθεσίῳ 92
Θρακίζειν à Θρᾳκία 36
[illegible] 250
Θρίαμβος, θριαμβεία, τροπαῖα. 231
Θώραξ poculum θωρήξασθαι inebriari 321
Τοῦτον καὶ ἄλλον ἀπὸ Διονυσίων 66
Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ δικαστήριον, λύκου δεκάς 34
Tragœdia, 80. vocavit eam Solon [illegible] ψιλολογίαν, 12. unde dict, à τράγος vel τρύγος 83
Τρίγωνον δικαστήριον 153
Τρία παλαίσματα 127
Tribunalia varia 133
Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope, sub Clisthene decem, postea duodecem 21
Τριττὺς, τριττύαρχος 22
Trophæa, 330. τροπαῖος Jupiter from turning the enemies τρέπεσθαι, ibid
Τ[illegible]λογία, καὶ [illegible]λογία 89
Τυμβεύεσθαι dicuntur qui à lupis &c. devorantur iidem vocantur τάφοι ἔμψυχοι 272
Τύμβος à τύφεσθαι i. καίεσθαι 259
Tumuli 264
Τύραννος, τυραννὶς 28
Τυμπανίζεσθαι, τυμπανισμὸς, τύμπανα 224
Υ
Vestis duplex ὀρθία & σύνδημος 140
[illegible] deus dicitur ibid.
Ὑπωμοσία, to sue one selfe 120
Ὑ[illegible] 285
Ὗς quasi θῦς quare 285
Vulcanus 42
Uxor, quando ducenda 185. quæ in eâ requirantur 189
W
Wedding daies three, 1. προαύλια. 2. ἀπαύλια. 3. ἐπαύλια
X
Xenocrates, quantæ fidei vir 116
ξενία 312. ξενοδοχεῖον primum fundavit Hircanus 313
ξένοι, 110. ξενῶνες 112
Φάσις, an information, delatio
Φ
Φάσις an information, delatio
Φῆμαι, εὐφημεῖν, δυσφημεῖν 366
Phænomoe Pythia prima 338
Φιλοποσία 302
Φρατρία unde 22
Φρατρικὰ δεῖπνα ibid.
Φρυκτοὶ, φρυκτωρεῖν 327
Φυλλοβολεῖν, φυλλοβολία 269
Φίλτρον 162
X
Χαμεῦναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ χαμεύνας cur 252
Χειροτονία 253
Χοαὶ ἠλυτήριοι 267
Χύτλωσις 210
Χυτρίζειν, pro ἐκτίθεσθαι 218
Χοιρίναι, Porcellaines, pebles 317
Ψ
Ψευδοκλητείας δίκη. 145. ψευδεγγραφῆς
ψήφισμα, προβούλευμα 99
ψηφοκλέπται δόλιοι κριταί 118
ψίθυρος Cupido 152. 155
Z
Ζευγῖται 19
Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς &c. 39
Z.H.Θ.I. 64
Ζώνη duplex 183
Ω. ω.
Ὠὰ & ὑπηνέμια, ab ovali figurâ 200